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ABSTRACT

This book addresses the issue of campus dissent through a collection of nine essays written by student deans and other administrators involved in student affairs. Essays are as follows: (1) "Student Affairs and Campus Dissent: An Introduction" (Keith E. Miser; (2) "Student Activism: A Historical Perspective" (Marcia B. Baxter Magolda and Peter W. Magolda); (3) "Student Activism: Growth Through Rebellion" (Deborah Ellen Hunter); (4) "Activism and the Campus Ecology" (James E. Banning and Donna L. McKinley); (5) "Student Activism: Strategies for Leadership" (Patrick W. Brown, Keith E. Miser, and Marsha P. Emmanuel); (6) "Student Activism Policy: A Statement of Institutional Philosophy" (Keith E. Miser); (7) "A Case Study: Responses to Student Activism" (Michael Reger, Ed.); (8) "The Legacy of Activism: Looking Ahead with Student Affairs" (Robert H. Shaffer); and (9) "Student Affairs and Campus Activism: Final Thoughts and Future Challenges" (Keith E. Miser). Appendices contain various policies, procedures, and regulations concerning student affairs from the University of Vermont, University of Massachusetts at Amherst, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, and University of Florida. References follow chapters. (GLR)

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# Student Affairs and Campus Dissent

## Reflection of the Past and Challenge for the Future

EDITED BY
Keith M. Miser

MARCH 1988

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# Student Affairs and Campus Dissent: Reflection of the Past and Challenge for the Future

Edited by
Keith M. Miser

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of Student Personnel Administrators, Inc.

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Finally, thanks must be given to those dissenting students with whom we have worked. They have been challenging, refreshing, dedicated, and purposeful. Above all, they have forced us to confront our feelings, reassess our beliefs, clarify our values, and rethink the role of student affairs and the purpose and the mission of higher education today.

Burlington, Vermont
March 1996

# Chapter 1

# Student Affairs and Campus Dissent: An Introduction

*Keith M. Miser*

In the past quarter century, little has had such a significant impact on American institutions of higher education as student unrest during the late 1960s and early 1970s. The relationship between the student and the institution was significantly changed from both philosophical and legal perspectives. The student affairs profession entered a new era, moving from a role designed primarily to control student behavior and enforce institutional moral values to a profession concerned about student development, academic enhancement, the rights and responsibilities of young adults, and the educational enrichment of the campus environment.

Student activism and campus dissent challenge the philosophical and legal foundations of modern institutions of higher education. Principles of constitutional rights, personal and professional integrity, educational philosophy, academic freedom, and institutional mission are at stake in an environment of conflicting values and challenges to authority. During periods of dissent, institutional leadership is often challenged in an emotionally charged environment. Leaders are torn between re-

sponding to the needs of various constituencies whose values, personal agendas, and political convictions are often in direct conflict. In periods of dissent, clear communication is essential, yet is often impossible because of political intervention and media attention. On a personal level, individual leaders are often challenged, scrutinized, and publicly attacked by dissenting members of the campus community.

The chief student affairs officer and the professional student affairs staff, by organizational design and institutional tradition, are often the educators "in the middle" during an extended period of activism. Student affairs professionals play roles of communicator, negotiator, spokesperson, disciplinarian, and consultant to the college president. It is, therefore, critical that student affairs professionals be prepared to accept leadership roles. For an institution to be effectively led through periods of activism, student affairs professionals must be students of activism. They must understand the dynamics, history, psychology, and theories of activism.

The concept for a monograph on this topic came from the realization that several campuses have experienced increasing student activism during the past two years. Some issues which are currently mobilizing students to dissent are divestment of institutional holdings of stock with companies conducting business in South Africa, gay rights, U.S. involvement in the Persian Gulf and Central America, and campus racial conflict.

Out of concern for these and other contemporary issues, progressive students are forming groups to organize dissent on scores of college campuses. As in the late 1960s and early 1970s, student affairs professionals are being called upon to provide institutional leadership to protect the rights of the dissenters; to foster communication; to negotiate issues to avoid disruption; and to develop, interpret, and reinforce institutional policies.

Arthur Levine (1980) wrote that since 1900, student interests, values, and subsequently their involvement in activism have gone through cycles. His model suggests that generations of students move through periods of individual ascendancy when their concerns are self-centered and through periods of community ascendancy when their concerns are focused on the

needs of others. Student activism peaks during periods of community ascendancy. Levine suggested that the "me generation" students of the late '70s and early '80s were clearly the peak of the most recent period of individual ascendancy and that student values are moving slowly toward a period of community ascendancy and, consequently, a period of student activism.

The organizing and dissent that have begun on some campuses would seem to suggest that within the next few years more and more students will move away from concerns of self to concern for societal world issues which may foster a widespread period of campus activism. This cycle change may be accelerated by war, a national crisis, or a period of rapid economic decline in the United States. Michael Harrington (1986) believes that within the next five years, the United States will enter a severe economic crisis, triggering social upheaval and dissent among young people.

Twenty years have passed since student affairs professionals were deeply involved with widespread campus dissent. A 30-year-old student affairs professional today would have been only nine years old in 1967 as the unrest and dissent of the Vietnam era began to explode. A search for recent research or professional literature on campus dissent proved fruitless. Few, if any, student affairs preparation programs include courses, seminars, or projects to teach developing professionals about campus dissent. This lack of direct experience, formal preparation, and access to professional literature on the topic has created a need that is addressed in this monograph.

*Student Affairs and Campus Dissent: Reflection of the Past and Challenge for the Future* reflects upon student activism of the past and, from this reflection, offers some philosophical, educational, and strategic principles to address student activism in the future.

Campus dissent now and in the future will be similar in many ways to the dissent of the late 1960s and 1970s, yet in a multitude of ways it will be different. Student values and beliefs are very different today; institutions of postsecondary education have changed markedly. America is not the same nation and the issues on the agenda are new.

## An Overview

In Chapter 2, Marcia Baxter Magolda and Peter Magolda present a brief summary of the rich history of campus dissent. They also review the legal issues and changes in the relationship between institutions of higher education and students that occurred as a result of campus dissent. Deborah Hunter, in Chapter 3, focuses on growth and change of activist students as she explores student development theory relevant to campus dissent. In Chapter 4, James Banning and Donna McKinley look at campus dissent and the campus ecology theory. They explore the development of activism in relationship to the values, traditions, and the physical structure of the campus.

Patrick Brown, Narbeth Emmanuel, and Keith Miser address in Chapter 5 the practical steps necessary to prepare for campus dissent and to evaluate the effectiveness of the strategies used. In Chapter 6, Miser develops a model and a process to create and implement a campus policy on dissent. Michael Reger has brought together six senior student affairs leaders to respond to a case study in Chapter 7. Each responding practitioner represents a different type of institution and each one responds to the case study on dissent in the context of his/her college or university. In Chapter 8, Robert Shaffer looks at campus dissent today as a legacy of the past and suggests changes that must be made if student affairs professionals wish to successfully address the next era of dissent. Shaffer, as a dean and faculty leader for over 40 years, has worked effectively with students and campus dissent. Miser summarizes the monograph in a concluding chapter.

In the next decade, there will be periods of intense student activism. Whether the issues will be divestment, CIA recruiting on campus, gay and lesbian student rights, treatment of AIDS patients, racism, antinuclear protest, environmental concerns, or U.S. military involvement in the Persian Gulf or Central America, the student affairs professional must be prepared to assume a leadership role. It is hoped that this monograph will provide the basis to assist each professional to work effectively with the task ahead.

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# Chapter 2

# Student Activism: A Historical Overview

*Marcia B. Baxter Magolda and Peter M. Magolda*

Student activism has existed since colonial college days when Harvard students expressed their dissatisfaction with Nathaniel Eaton's discipline and his wife's cooking (Morison, 1965). Student complaints during these early years addressed services provided, activities available, and requirements such as compulsory religious services. Violence was prevalent in student protest in the early 19th century, ranging from destruction of property at Princeton University (Wertenbaker, 1946) to the death of a professor at the University of Virginia (Bruce, 1920-22). By the close of the century, student activism had prompted the establishment of debating clubs, literary societies and magazines, fraternities, an elaborate student government system, and the sanctioning of sporting events (Ellsworth and Burns, 1970).

While campus life issues continued to attract student attention into the 20th century, broader issues, particularly social and political concerns, began to emerge. The Student Christian Volunteer Movement involved students in foreign missionary work and later in domestic issues. Social awareness increased as students' involvement in the settlement house movement provided an understanding of the problems caused by urbanization. Christian organizations such as the YMCA and the YWCA not only exposed students to social service but to political education

(Altbach, 1974). For the first time in the history of student activism, political concerns emerged, generally in the form of antiwar sentiment. The formation of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society (ISS), which later became Students for a Democratic Society, was a major development in student activism since the ISS represented the first ideologically oriented national student organization in the United States (Altbach, 1974).

Student criticism of higher education in general increased in the 1920s. Students charged that the curriculum was not relevant to social concerns, questioned the role of higher education in society, and became concerned about academic freedom. In addition to these issues, students kept national political concerns in the public eye. Opposition to war continued to build resulting in the peace strikes of the 1930s. The widespread nature of antiwar sentiment allowed a temporary alliance of numerous political groups into organizations like the American Student Union, increasing the numbers of students involved in campus unrest (Altbach, 1974). Prior to World War II, however, different political ideologies led to splits among various student groups and the student peace movement nearly collapsed on the eve of World War II.

The style of student activism in the postwar period reflected the values of the returning veterans. New students on campuses, including war veterans, were not prone to activism but rather to conformity and stabilization. The conservative nature of American society and the rise of political repression was reflected in a student population uninvolved in social issues and committed to attaining the lifestyle of the American Dream.

### Student Activism in the 1960s

Four themes characterize the activism of the 1960s: civil rights, civil liberties, the peace movement, and student life. While certain themes were prominent at different points in the 1960s, all were intertwined to have a collective impact on higher education. The following account traces the development of these themes.

The late '50s and early '60s were rich with events that rekindled student activism. Civil rights served as the initial impetus

for renewed student protest. Despite the Supreme Court decision prohibiting discrimination in education, racial equality was not forthcoming, particularly in the South. This realization motivated many students to join the fight for equality. The sit-in staged at a segregated Greensboro lunch counter by four North Carolina Agriculture and Technical College students introduced nonviolent tactics to student activism. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) quickly organized more sit-ins, picketing campaigns, and voter registration projects to protest segregation (Zinn, 1965). Student participation in marches and freedom rides brought national attention to civil rights issues.

Simultaneously, the escalation of the Cold War and the testing of nuclear weapons revived students' antiwar sentiment, thereby stimulating the peace movement. The Student Peace Union (SPU), the most prominent of the peace organizations, sponsored educational programming on the arms race and foreign affairs and direct antimilitary and civil rights protest activities (Altbach, 1974).

Civil liberties, especially free speech, were the source of protests in the 1950s and were revitalized in 1960. Protests were sparked in 1949 by the firing of faculty who refused to take loyalty oaths (Altbach, 1974) and the barring of controversial speakers at Ohio State University in 1952 (Foster and Long, 1970). By 1960, the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) became the symbol of restraints on free speech (Altbach, 1974) and of the repressive nature of the 1950s. Disruption of a HUAC meeting by student demonstrators in San Francisco was followed by a HUAC-produced film that accused the demonstrators of violence; that set the stage for unrest on the University of California-Berkeley campus.

A decision by Berkeley officials to prohibit off-campus political groups from distributing literature and soliciting funds and membership on university property was interpreted by many students as a policy to restrict the actions of civil rights groups. Berkeley students adopted the nonviolent tactics of the civil rights movement to assert the right to free speech and the right of equality in a democratic society (Astin, Astin, Bayer, and Bisconti, 1975). Their nonviolent protests culminated in the ar-

rest of a nonstudent who violated the policy, an incident which resulted in students surrounding a police car for 32 hours. Institutional actions against the protesters in the following months prompted continued and increasingly disorderly protests (Lipset and Wolin, 1965).

The public, unaccustomed to such protests on the part of college students, reacted negatively to the dissent. Institutional and civil authorities responded quickly, implementing new policies based on a punitive philosophy and imposed strict disciplinary sanctions.

At the same time, the impact of the civil rights movement was magnified by events of the mid '60s. For example, while the Supreme Court was affirming civil rights legislation, the Democratic National Convention was refusing to seat the Mississippi Freedom Delegation. The assassination of Malcolm X and the Watts riots heightened student awareness and concern. These highly charged events were influential in black student leaders' growing lack of faith in nonviolent protest and also served to enhance their commitment to activist causes. The perceived need to pull additional blacks into the struggle led to the expulsion of white students from SNCC and the formation of the Black Panther Party (President's Commission, 1970). This gradual shift from integration to separatism would eventually take the form of black student protests.

Amid the intense civil rights controversy, President Johnson announced the bombing of North Vietnam in 1965. Antiwar sentiment erupted anew in the form of petitions, sit-ins, teach-ins, and demonstrations.

Frustration with the lack of impact of protest on foreign policy and on racial equality led many young Americans to turn from the outer signs of trouble to what they believed was its source: the American political system as manifested by the universities. This shift of emphasis occurred in the form of protests against university involvements with agencies associated with war and university actions that affected social conditions. Protests at the University of Wisconsin in 1966 were aimed at the university's cooperation with the selective service (Foster and Long, 1970). In 1967, students at Indiana University and the

University of Wisconsin campuses protested against interviews being held by the Dow Corporation because it had contracts with the Defense Department (Foster and Long, 1970). Later in 1967, protests at Columbia University addressed the institution's relationship with an agency engaged in defense research (Fact-Finding Commission, 1968).

A significant change characterized these demonstrations. They were becoming increasingly violent. Illegal activities, such as obstructing interviews by recruiters and burning draft cards, became commonplace.

Numerous undercurrents caused a turn of events in student activism. Frustration felt by civil rights activists was reducing support for nonviolent means. The new leadership of the civil rights movement was more supportive of violent measures than were their predecessors. Black militancy escalated, fed by the bitterness felt by many black students whose enrollment through major recruiting drives of the mid '60s were not accompanied by institutional support to enable success.

Antiwar demonstrators were also sensing a lack of response to their peaceful efforts. Continued harsh consequences of demonstrating and numerous clashes with police toughened student response. A protest at Columbia, linked to a proposed gymnasium that would displace black residents near the university, marked the beginning of violence, including the ransacking of files and destruction of a professor's notes (Fact-Finding Commission, 1968).

Black students' protests over curricular issues, particularly the inclusion of black studies programs, became increasingly violent. Finally, the assignment of only one policeman to protect a black women's cooperative, in front of which a cross had been burned, prompted occupation of the Cornell University student union building in 1969. Rumors of threats from other armed students prompted the black students to acquire weapons for protection (Astin, et al., 1975).

As violence, bombings, and bomb threats increased, a paradox of tactics occurred (President's Commission, 1970). Moderate students reemphasized nonviolence as they viewed the effect of violent protests. Moderates helped maintain peace at

Vietnam War moratorium demonstrations and at protests of environmental issues. Despite the effort toward peaceful protest, the decade ended in tragedy. The invasion of Cambodia in 1970 sparked hundreds of student strikes, including the one at Kent State University. There, in the confusion between National Guardsmen who had been summoned to the campus and students, guardsmen opened fire, killing four students (President's Commission, 1970). Ten days later, two black students were killed by police in a disturbance at Jackson State College (President's Commission, 1970). Finally, the bombing of the Army Mathematics Research Center at the University of Wisconsin later that year reinforced the message that both police and protesters were capable of violent acts.

While unrest related to civil rights, civil liberties, and antiwar sentiment attracted the greatest attention, local campus issues were also the focus of student dissent throughout the decade. Because these protests were unlikely to result in police involvement and because they were usually nonviolent, they were overshadowed by racial and antimilitary unrest. Traditional issues such as food service, dress regulations, residence hall regulations, curriculum, and teaching continued to draw protest during the '60s. Institutional response to policies regarding student use of alcohol and other drugs attracted some student resistance.

Three areas of concern, in particular, received renewed attention because they related to the student activism events outlined above. Concern about institutional disciplinary action represented 16 percent of the organized protest in 1968 (Ellsworth and Burns, 1970). Much of this activity was probably sparked by the actions taken against participants in campus unrest. Demand for increased student participation in establishing campus policies accounted for 27 percent of the organized protest and 19 percent stemmed from the lack of avenues for students to voice grievances (Ellsworth and Burns, 1970). The impact of these protests on the whole seems to be minimal. Astin, et al. (1975), reported that these incidents sometimes resulted in minor changes on the local level. Most analysts suggest that broader changes in institutional policy stemmed from the collective unrest of the decade.

## Institutional Response Strategies and Their Impact

Institutional responses to protest activities varied according to the nature of the protest and the nature of the institution. Response strategies had different effects on the duration and level of violence of the protest. Choice of strategies was in part influenced by the history and nature of the academic environment. In the past, student protest had been met with severe responses because of the parent-child relationship thought to exist between the institution and its students. In addition to this *in loco parentis* philosophy, academia was wed to its own methods of decision making. Faculty and administrators often reacted negatively to the suggested disruption of the academic process of studying issues, drawing recommendations from study groups, full discussion of recommendations in the academic community, and development of a consensus among members of the academic community. Protesters often viewed this system as an avoidance tactic and the compromise necessary for consensus unacceptable. Given this environment, it is not surprising that the responses chosen by institutions were not always effective. Typical university response strategies used in this era included restrictive actions, attempts at persuasion, and conceding to demands (Foster and Long, 1970).

Punitive actions used against students, such as suspension or expulsion of protesters, were common. These actions often incited further demonstrations in support of those who were disciplined. The use of campus or civil police also served to escalate protest in many situations, and was often an antecedent to violence (Astin, et al., 1975). Arrests also tended to mobilize nonradical students to join the cause. Lack of common expectations between administrators and police often led to confusion and loss of control of the situation by administrators. Choosing to summon civil authorities usually indicated that administrators were unwilling to communicate with protesters or to compromise. Larger institutions were more likely to call on civil authorities in response to protests (Astin, et al., 1975).

Other restrictive strategies were no more effective. Reaffirmation of policy accompanied by warnings of consequences of protest did little to defuse the protest. In fact, warnings tended

to increase the likelihood of violent, disruptive protests while lack of warning increased diplomatic protests (Foster and Long, 1970). Injunctions against protest activities were usually attacked by protesters as attempts to intimidate them and censor their right to dissent. The subtle encouragement of counterprotesters was no more successful. While counterprotesters were often able to interfere with protest activities, their own activities called into question the institution's responsibility to respond to their behavior as well as that of the demonstrators.The only restrictive strategy that appeared effective was the careful timing of controversial events or unpopular decisions to conflict with student interest in exams or vacation periods, thereby reducing the probability of confrontation.

Persuasion strategies were used to try to convince protesters and nonprotesters alike that the protest activity was inappropriate. Such strategies sometimes took the form of official statements condemning protest tactics, although this contributed to the perception that the institution was ignoring critical substantive issues. More effective attempts at defusing protests were those which demonstrated administrators' willingness to initiate personal interaction with large groups of protesters. Offering assistance in organizing demonstrations also discouraged the perception that the administration was restrictive.

Undoubtedly the most effective persuasion strategy was agreeing to debate the issues, thus avoiding the charge of unwillingness to consider protesters' concerns. This strategy, however, proved effective only when administrators entered it sincerely and were prepared to handle the debate effectively. Most persuasive strategies, however, did not provide an adequate response because they focused more on reducing the intensity of the protest than on addressing the underlying issues.

A third response strategy rarely used in response to student activism was immediate concession to the protesters' demands. The attractiveness of this strategy was its potential for providing an immediate end to the protest. Most administrators, however, realized that giving in quickly could elicit anger from those who did not agree with the protesters' concerns as well as those who disapproved of protest as a means of change. In addition, sending the message that the institution would yield to protests had great potential to set the stage for further demands.

A fourth and certainly underutilized response strategy was open communication between administrators and protesters. Administrators who agreed to consider protesters' concerns often avoided violence regardless of whether change actually occurred.This strategy was most prevalent in student power protests and some change often resulted from the deliberations. This strategy was also used in student life protests but the outcome in these cases was often a decision against change. Mediation by faculty was used in some instances, thereby avoiding the use of civil authorities and often leading to some change in response to the protesters' concerns (Astin, et al., 1975).

A review of the strategies used indicates that strategies involving communication were most effective in dealing with both student activism tactics and the issues upon which activism was based. Protests directed at administrative decisions could in some cases have been defused by involving students in the decision-making process or presenting a tactful explanation of the decision. Response to student concerns expressed in editorials, leaflets, and petitions could have averted demonstrations on those same topics. Thus, early and continuing communication seems to be the major lesson to be gained from a review of the impact of response strategies.

### The Role of Student Affairs Staff

Ascertaining the extent to which student affairs professionals were involved in institutional responses to activism is difficult because most descriptions focus on the role of the chief executive officer. However, in the few examples that address student affairs professionals, deans and vice presidents for student affairs appear to have been the primary participants in institutional responses.

Approaches used by student affairs professionals varied in effectiveness. Attempts to deflect the conflict-generating issues usually escalated the protests (Astin, et al., 1975). Discussions with students were more effective. For example, the dean of students at the University of Wisconsin influenced the nature of a demonstration against CIA recruiting by having extensive discussions with students in the preparation stages of the protest. The dean of students at Colorado State University averted con-

frontation during a similar recruiting protest by being on hand to talk with protesters. Often, flexibility in allowing demonstrators to assemble, as was exhibited during the Indiana University recruiting protests, facilitated peaceful protests even though such protests sometimes continued long enough to require police action.

A final observation from analyzing case studies of activism is that student affairs personnel were more visible in protests that drew less institutional response such as antiwar and student life protests. They were generally called upon when communication with student protesters was the strategy to be employed. In more violent protests, events escalated quickly and the role of student affairs and other administrators was overshadowed by the involvement of civil authorities.

### Legal Precedents Emerging from 1960s Activism

The range of institutional and societal issues discussed here, as well as the institutional response to activism regarding these issues, brought to surface the underlying issue of the relationship between student and institution. The historical relationship of institution as parent and student as child contributed to many of the campus issues which sparked student unrest throughout history. Although this relationship did not inspire activism in response to societal issues, it did serve as the foundation for a preference for restrictive and punitive institutional responses rather than communication with students as adult members of the learning community. Students' lack of involvement in institutional decisions on social and political problems and their apparent lack of effect on institutional behavior prompted students to protest not only societal injustices but the traditional relationship between student and institution. Court-mandated changes in that relationship may be the most enduring outcomes of student activism in the 1960s.

The student-institution relationship prior to student activism in the 1960s was based on the philosophy of *in loco parentis*. That is, the institution served in the place of parents. This doctrine, set forth in *Gott v. Berea College* (1913), gave the institution complete control over the actions of students and was reflected

in the courts' reluctance to interfere directly in the academic and administrative operations of higher education. *Gott* was viewed as a reaffirmation of the institution's responsibility to help students mature in the same way as a parent would.

In the institution-as-parent, students were perceived as children: immature, incapable of making decisions for themselves, and possessing no useful insight into management of the learning environment. As such, students had no role in governance, were forbidden to challenge authority, and were punished for not meeting institutional expectations. Although institutional policies and procedures evolved with students' best interests in mind, neither the students nor the courts were consulted. As a consequence, an institution's good intentions too often resulted in vague policies and arbitrary decisions. Foster and Long (1970) cite an example from the Princeton University Code which stated,

> All students are expected to conduct themselves in a manner becoming scholars and gentlemen. The university reserves the right at any time to suspend or dismiss a student for . . . unsatisfactory conduct, or for any other appropriate reason determined solely in the university's judgment (pp. 516-17).

By 1960 college administrators were less willing to take parental responsibility for students and relied less on *in loco parentis* as a foundation for their interactions with students. However, many institutional policies and procedures were still based on this doctrine and administrators still believed that, as educators, they knew what was best for students. During the 1960s, students began to actively challenge that belief in court. Judges initially claimed they were not qualified to rule on academic matters (Bevilacqua, 1976) but eventually acknowledged that institutional actions could be reviewed if colleges abused their power or acted arbitrarily. The first formal ruling to this end came in *Bank v. Board of Education* (1966) when the court held that the authority of an institution and its administration was not absolute.

Subsequent cases specified limitations on institutional authority. In *Goldberg v. Regents of the University of California* (1967), regarding rules prohibiting objectionable language, the court stated that the university had the right to exercise such powers

as were necessary to maintain order. While the court ruled in favor of the institution, it also mandated that the institution justify restrictions.

The requirement that institutions have a reasonable basis for decisions also resulted in rulings against institutions. For example, a rule requiring prior approval by college officials of demonstrations was judged to be a violation of the First Amendment (*Hammond v. South Carolina,* 1967). A similar ruling denounced classification of a student on the basis of hairstyle, indicating that this was not a reasonable criterion on which to deny education (*Zachry v. Brown,* 1967).

In addition to requiring justification of institutional policy, the courts addressed the ways in which institutions held students accountable. The principle of due process, which had been addressed in part by requiring that rules be justifiable, became important in enforcing regulations. As early as 1961, the *Dixon v. Alabama State Board of Education* ruling specified that due process included notice of, and opportunity for, a hearing in disciplinary actions. As fair treatment escalated as an issue in the 1960s, institutions had to take greater care to provide due process to students. As courts heard student cases, minimal standards for due process evolved, including written notice of disciplinary charges, the right to inspect evidence supporting the charges, the right to question witnesses, and the responsibility of judicial bodies to make judgments based solely on the evidence provided at hearings.

Decisions such as these signalled the demise of *in loco parentis* and a redefinition of the student-institution relationship. The relationship which emerged in the late 1960s was that of a contract between student and institution. Students were expected to abide by rules, regulations, and standards published by the university and, in return, the university agreed to provide a degree (Young and Gehring, 1977). Court decisions in the late '60s and early '70s supported this interpretation. In *Green v. Howard University* (1967) the institution's catalog was interpreted as a contract between institution and student. Statements made by university officials were viewed similarly in *Krawez v. Stans* (1969). Later rulings specified that institutions must clearly state academic regulations (*Bower v. O'Reilly,* 1971) and could not ex-

ceed the published degree requirements (*Healy v. Larson*, 1971). These specifications of institutional obligation, along with prior rulings that required justification of institutional rules, spelled out the institutional obligations as contractual for the first time. These developments set the stage for a reciprocal relationship between the student and institution. Later court rulings, particularly the Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act (1974), made clear that the student, not parents, was a party to the contract with the institution.

### Institutional Changes Resulting From Activism

Taken collectively, the events of the 1960s resulted in expanded student rights. These changes were evident in clearer academic procedures and expectations, a larger student role in institutional governance, and deregulation of student life. Student rights expanded as grading systems were improved, educational requirements specified, and student input in teacher evaluation was formalized. Greater involvement in institutional governance was evident in increasing student input in existing committees and the creation of new committees to review campus issues (Astin, et al., 1975).

Conduct regulations, historically characterized by numerous rules aimed at teaching morals and values, became limited to rules necessary for healthy academic and community life. Behavioral rules focused on actions which affected others in a group living environment. For example, visitation rules were liberalized but restrictions remained to avoid violation of roommate rights. The increase in coeducational residence halls also signalled the perception of students as adult members of the living-learning community. Most judicial processes were changed to incorporate the minimal standards for due process to ensure that individual student rights were upheld.

Institutional changes also altered the role of the student affairs professional. Student affairs staff moved from controlling students to educating students. Staff began advising students regarding personal and academic decisions and teaching decision-making skills instead of giving students advice on preferred choices. Those professionals who supervised student so-

cial activities moved from making the decisions and doing the planning to teaching student groups how to make wise choices and plan effectively. Students, both as individuals and in groups, became accountable for their choices. Students' responsibility for their educational experience increased as did communication with students as participants in the educational environment.

### The Changing Nature of Student Activism

Some of the most violent and tragic events in the history of student activism occurred in the early 1970s over the invasion of Cambodia. Within a few years, however, the activism characteristic of the 1960s had all but dissipated on most college campuses. As the Vietnam War concluded, American society shifted its focus from foreign policy to domestic issues, particularly the economy. Americans became increasingly interested in individual concerns instead of community concerns. This individual ascendancy, sometimes referred to as "me-ism," accompanied young people to college (Altbach, 1981). College students' concern for themselves took the form of a career orientation, concern with appearance and material success, and practicality (Altbach, 1981). Subsequent student efforts to address these concerns took different forms than those used in the 1960s.

New tactics emerging in the 1970s centered around organizing to lobby for individual interests. For example, groups formed to advance the rights of women, racial and ethnic minorities, and gays. In addition, student lobbies representing college student concerns and Public Interest Research Groups (PIRGs) emerged as avenues for reform. PIRGs offered students the opportunity to engage in reform activities in various societal contexts. Student lobbies offered a vehicle to influence reform in areas of concern to students such as tuition, financial aid, and drug use legislation. Thus, activism has not disappeared completely, but rather has changed in light of the priority placed on individual interests.

A study of the history of student activism in the American college reveals that foreign policy plays an important role during periods of intense activism. Dissatisfaction with the U.S. government's foreign policy sparked many of the incidents of

unrest cited in this chapter. During periods of foreign policy protest, domestic policy protests were often heightened as well. The atmosphere of the 1980s parallels that of the early 1960s. Government foreign policy regarding South Africa, the Middle East, and Central America and domestic policy, such as the rise in the drinking age, have resulted in pockets of unrest on college campuses. Previous periods of apathy about societal concerns have been followed by intense activism, which suggests that violent student protest could emerge in the next decade. Student affairs professionals have the opportunity to help students approach social and political reform peacefully through renewed commitment to meaningful student participation in the higher education environment.

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# Chapter 3

# Student Activism: Growth Through Rebellion

***Deborah Ellen Hunter***

> It used to please me to think of myself as a rebel and a nonconformist, but all the pleasure has gone out of it now. I like to think that I'm not really tired of rebelling, but that I'm just smarter than I used to be about what I rebel against. You have to decide which battles to fight, which to abandon.
> *Andy Rooney (1982)*

> He who is not a radical at sixteen has no heart.
> He who is a radical at sixty has no head.
> *Lord Chesterfield (c. 1767)*

These quotations link the concept of human development with the role that protest and activism play in maturation. The authors lived centuries apart and on different continents. Neither was a behavioral scientist nor college administrator, but both employed informal theories about human development to find clues to the mysteries of young adulthood.

Student affairs administrators have long relied on informal theories to frame their beliefs about college students (Parker, 1977). For example, awareness that college students routinely strain established rules was evidenced by a Harvard administrator who lamented, "If we allow them to square dance, some may be tempted to lapse into the waltz" (Woodring, 1968).

Yet reliance merely upon hunches about student behavior can impede development and use of reliable, systematic frameworks to guide decisions and understand college youth (Parker, Widick, and Knefelkamp, 1978). In 1962, Sanford called for research to help understand college student development. But can awareness of numerous student development models and theories contribute to understanding student dissent on campus? Yes; through this chapter, student activism will be linked to useful concepts grounded in theories of college student development.

### Who Are Student Protesters?

Much has been written about the social and political climate that fueled the fires of campus dissent in the 1960s (Birenbaum, 1969; Lamont, 1979; Levine, 1980; Lipset and Altbach, 1966; Peterson, 1968). Psychological profiles of activist youth include labels such as "young radicals" (Keniston, 1968), "bomb culture" (Nuttal, 1968), "nonconformists" (Clark and Trow, 1960), and "red diaper babies" (Keniston, 1968). Most of these writings are primarily descriptive in nature and portray pictures of angry or alienated youth and their espoused causes. Empirical analyses of student activists typically report easily measurable variables such as socioeconomic class, cocurricular involvement, satisfaction with college, academic performance, and personality characteristics (Astin, 1970; Baird, 1970; Djilas, 1970; Glazer, 1967; Halleck, 1970; Katz, 1967). Former president of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), Tom Hayden (1966), echoed these descriptors and also the cultural backgrounds of activist youth noting:

> They were born with status and affluence as facts of life, not goals to be striven for. In their upbringing, their parents stressed the right of children to question and make judgments, producing perhaps the first generation of young people both affluent and independent of mind.

It is not helpful enough to know that student activists of the 1960s were born to well educated and affluent parents, tended to enroll in selective liberal arts colleges, had no religious preference, were politically liberal, and rated themselves high on originality (Astin, 1970; Keniston, 1965, 1971). These traits alone do not cause college youth to engage in social rebellion and campus

dissent. Many questions remain unanswered about the phenomenon of student protest and about factors that prompt some gifted college youth to accept invitations such as Timothy Leary's to "turn on, tune in, and drop out" (Spears, 1986).

The social and political conditions of the turbulent 1960s have passed into history, leading higher education scholars and practitioners to find few similarities between past and present campus climates. Unlike the climate of two decades before, campus dissent in the 1980s has been "low keyed, short lived, and episodic" (Beeler, 1985). Causes such as war, civil rights, or university practices of *in loco parentis* do not currently call college students to active protest.

The cast of characters central to the campus drama of the '60s has changed, too. Most university administrators who two decades ago found themselves barred from their administration buildings by demonstrating students have by now traded their administrative worries for retirement pensions or less notably controversial work as senior scholars. Placards and angry students calling for the resignations of administrators are not commonplace today. The campus radicals who staged the "sit-ins," forced the moratoria of classes, and encouraged distrust of those over the age of 30 have now settled into middle age; many comfortably surrounded by the trappings of the middle class.

But history demonstrates, as Chapter 1 emphasized, that student protest is not confined to an era, but rather always has been a part of American higher education. The raised fist of student protest, therefore, cannot be presumed to be a fading symbol. Only recently, campus demonstrations against the South African government's policy of apartheid caused many higher education administrators to lament, "Here we go again" (Altbach, 1987). To function as effective educational leaders in the 1980s, higher education administrators must expand their understanding of college students and the forces shaping activist behavior on the campus.

### Student Development Models and Theories

Unfortunately, the nature of college student development is not fully understood, and efforts to create a grand design of student

development may be ill-fated (Knefelkamp, Widick, and Parker, 1978). There appears to be agreement among student development theorists, however, on developmental tasks and growth issues which manifest themselves during the college years (Miller and Prince, 1976). From the web of student development theories and models (Widick, Knefelkamp, and Parker, 1980), psychosocial, cognitive development, and student subculture theories provide useful perspectives for viewing activist behavior. Used in concert, these developmental theories have the potential to enrich understanding of college student activism.

### Psychosocial Developmental Theories

Psychosocial theorists (Erikson, 1963, 1968; Sanford, 1962; Chickering, 1972; Keniston, 1968; Katz, 1967; Levinson, 1978; Sheehy, 1976) assert that individuals progress through a series of identifiable growth stages which encompass the life cycle. While growth stages seem to be chronologically set (i.e., ages for puberty, schooling), each is also marked by societal influences. Passage through each stage is affected by environmental demands which challenge readiness to accomplish developmental tasks.

Psychosocial theorists describe the adolescent period as a tumultuous time of crisis (Erikson, 1963, 1968) and transition (Chickering, 1972; Sanford, 1962) in which the individual is not yet ready for the lasting commitments to occupation, ideology, or intimacy that characterize adulthood. Adolescence presents a series of previously unencountered crises which arise from the convergence of societal expectations and variations in psychological readiness for adulthood. Preoccupation with issues of philosophy, morality, and ideology also characterize the adolescent period, and passing enthusiasms and fleeting allegiances vie for attention. Adolescence is also a time of experimentation and turmoil in which societal standards provide targets for scrutiny and challenge. Relationships with parents undergo strain as individuals seek validation of independence (Chickering, 1972). Adolescents preoccupied with the present acknowledge few linkages with either past or future generations (Erikson, 1968). From a sociological perspective, adolescents are not af-

forded the same social status as adults and do not possess full membership in the adult world of work, family, and civic responsibilities.

If these psychosocial characteristics are applied to traditional-age college students (18-22 years old), college students display some of the psychological characteristics of adulthood, but none of its sociological traits (Keniston, 1968). For example, the student activists of the 1960s demonstrated the ability to work, love, and play; they exhibited commitments to social "causes" (i.e., civil rights, politics, peace), felt solidarity with others in the "activist movement," and contemplated ideological beliefs perhaps to a greater degree than many adults.

By psychological standards, student activists behaved like adults; yet in terms of participation in the social roles of adulthood (i.e., marriage, career, civic and church involvement), they performed few adult functions. Although engaged in work, they were not members of occupations; and despite involvement in intir ate relationships, they had no family responsibilities. They possessed few of the educational qualifications to enter professions, and although committed to "causes," remained outside established institutions of power.

Traditional-age college students are caught in a time warp that places them outside the bounds of adolescence and on the brink of adulthood. Sanford (1962) characterized college students as people "in transition" (p. 281). Acknowledging that college students did not fit into the life cycle stages of either adolescence or adulthood, Keniston (1968) concluded that another life stage existed between the two. The creation of this stage was made possible by post-industrial affluence and the ambivalence. He identified this life stage as "youth" and defined it as not necessarily a fixed span of years, but as a state of mind. According to Keniston, economic, educational, and attitudinal changes permitted deferral of entry into adulthood until after the traditional college years. Not only did college attendance delay entry into the labor force, it also postponed expected marriage and civic responsibilities. Social approval for postponement of these presumably adult commitments encouraged experimentation, self-exploration, and social criticism. College youth exhibit resolution of most of the adolescent psychological

tasks: emotional autonomy from parents (Chickering, 1972), sexual identity (Erikson, 1963, 1968), and development of a social conscience (Djilas, 1970). Therefore, the most compelling developmental task for youth is to find congruence with established social institutions. The transient status of college students provides a vantage point outside the established adult system for exploration. College students exist in a life stage that lacks power, sociological identity, and necessity (Katz, 1967).

On college campuses, youth have freedom to explore and criticize the conventional adult social structure because they are not part of it. College campuses provide environments conducive to the transition into adulthood and foster self-exploration and social criticism. Students are provided freedom to experiment with different roles, opportunities for meaningful involvement, options for decision making, and a contemplative milieu (Erikson, 1963).

The rebelliousness of college youth often represents an unsolicited critique of the shortcomings of social institutions and adult behavior. Rather than simply "trouble making," student activism serves as an expression of the complex psychological tasks of youth (Katz, 1975). When college youth resolve the tension between self and society and move into more enduring social roles, passage into adulthood commences--a milestone often marked by graduation from college, marriage, employment, and cessation of activist behavior.

### Cognitive Developmental Theories

Since the 1970s the student movement has lost momentum, but the developmental issues and values associated with student activism remain. The growth issues underlying student activism constitute the basic ethos of higher education. Central among these values is the liberalizing effect that college attendance has on many students. College enrollment is correlated with increased tolerance for diversity, individualization of moral judgments, and psychological autonomy (Astin, 1977; Keniston and Gerzon, 1972; Sanford and Axelrod, 1979). These changes in values and beliefs, which can be traced to the college experience, do not fluctuate whimsically but as a function of new ways of making sense of the world (Feldman and Newcomb, 1969).

Cognitive development theorists (Kohlberg, 1970; Loevinger, 1976; Perry, 1970; Piaget, 1956) describe these changes as developments in perception and reasoning processes. According to these theorists, assumptions about the world structure the way individuals perceive, organize, and evaluate experiences. Development is marked by the progression from identification of only simple distinctions among issues (i.e., good or bad) toward more complex integration and differentiation. Development results from cognitive conflict (Perry, 1970) in which current methods of making sense of the world prove inadequate, necessitating more advanced reasoning strategies.

Kohlberg's model of moral reasoning (1970) depicts a hierarchical process by which college youth reason about moral issues and proves useful in studying student activism. His model represents a progression of perceptions of self in relation to society and factors associated with moral decision making. According to Kohlberg's theory, college students functioning at the conventional level conform to expected societal norms and feel loyalty to those traditional standards. At the postconventional level, however, students employ more sophisticated thought processes to define the moral values which hold validity for them, values which often conflict with established social norms. Accepting consequences for actions transcends both the conventional and postconventional thought processes. For example, student activists must determine the price they are willing to pay to maintain loyalty to either societal expectations or their moral views: disciplinary action? reproach of peers? suspension from college? prosecution for draft dodging?

Perry's cognitive-ethical development scheme (1970) also contributes to understanding the cognitive processes that color youth's perceptions of self, social issues, and authority. His nine-position scheme traces changes in sense-making strategies and describes the blossoming of social consciousness. Positions 1-3 are characterized by dualistic thought processes in which actions or ideas are viewed as simply right or wrong. Because minimal questioning of authority occurs, college students employing these cognitive processes do not typically become involved in campus activism, except in defense of their beliefs

when challenged by others. Multiplistic thinking processes (Position 4) acknowledge a plurality of perspectives as reflected in the simplistic quip, "anything goes." Progression into relativism (Positions 5-6) represents realization that knowledge and opinions are contextual. For example, students protesting the Vietnam War pronounced it an "immoral" war, while asserting that World War II was "different." Positions 7-9 are characterized as commitment in relativism in which students acknowledge plurality of opinions and beliefs and labor to define their own values and styles (e.g., active or contemplative).

Like the psychosocial theorists, cognitive developmental theorists acknowledge that environmental factors affect sense-making strategies. The National Guard shootings of the four Kent State University students in 1970 shattered some college students' assumptions about the wisdom of authority figures and the security provided by established symbols of justice. Such occurrences affect development by either sparking new efforts to make sense of the world by suspending or reversing the process of cognitive growth.

Escape serves as one effective delay tactic (Perry, 1970) enabling youth to avoid difficult moral choices. Perry contends that troubled students often take refuge in relativism, and seemingly apathetic students may actually be anxious students employing this avoidance tactic. If an individual's present cognitive processes prove inadequate to make sense of experiences encountered and if escape tactics are not used, the accompanying discomfort and confusion could result in assimilation, forcing environmental challenges to fit current reasoning strategies. For example, when confronted by psychologically threatening challenges or unfamiliar ideas, students may avoid taking personal responsibility for moral choices, take the path of least resistance, and allow themselves to "go along with the crowd."

### Student Subculture Theories

Protests, demonstrations, civil disobedience have long been the recourse of social groups who, lacking political power, seek to enter the world of the decision makers (Mead, 1970). College

students have likewise banded together to amplify their voice. The 1960s witnessed the rise of several groups taking responsibility for organizing campus protests, and among the more visible were the Students for a Democratic Society, Young Americans for Freedom, Young Socialists, Radical Student Union, and Revolutionary Youth Movement (Heath, 1970). Yet most student protesters of the past claimed no official affiliation with any organization, and while the stereotype of the wild-eyed revolutionary remains, nonradical white students comprised the majority of campus protesters (Astin and Astin, 1975).

The task of understanding activists remains difficult because no criteria exist for identifying campus activists or their social and political behavior. Students participating in campus protests could be categorized into three groups (Kerr, 1970): issue-by-issue protesters, liberal-radicals, and radical-radicals. Issue-by-issue activists accepted the established social system, yet sought change in particular policies or practices. Liberal-radicals endorsed restructuring society, yet operationalized their goals by traditional methods of protest (i.e., rallies, boycotts). Radical-radicals comprised the most dissident student activist group through their violent tactics for instituting change. According to this typology, the majority of student protesters have been "issue-by-issue activists," likely to become involved in organized protests sanctioned by the student government or in which faculty were visibly participating (Astin and Astin, 1975).

Because college attendance includes membership in a social system (Pace, 1968) and because attitudes are anchored in group membership (Newcomb, 1962), examinations of college student activism must include studies of the peer groups which influence students' attitudes and behaviors. As college youth struggle with making sense of the world, many identify with a student subculture comprised of peers also forging complex relationships between self and society. College youth have an especially strong need for the nourishment provided by group membership and for acceptance by age and sex peers (Newcomb, 1962). Pressures on youth to conform come more from these peer groups than from adults (Downey, 1981; Woodring, 1968), and students find it easier to reject the views of their parents than those of their peers (Chickering, 1972). The student

culture develops its own style of dress, behavior, ethics, and orientation.

Student subcultures reflect the diversity present on any college campus. Differences in peer groups can be categorized according to the particular value orientation they represent. Several typologies exist for charting student subculture types: intellectuals, strivers, unconnected, careerists (Katchadourian and Boli, 1985); scholars, creative individualists, wild ones, political activists, social groups, and leaders (Newcomb, et al., 1967); professionalists, activists, disaffiliates, big men on campus, apprentices, underachievers and gentlemen-in-waiting (Kenniston, 1966); and collegiate, academic, vocational, and nonconformist subcultures (Clark and Trow, 1960). Identification with a particular student subculture supplies a psychic community in which a student's identity can be defined (Jacobs and Landau, 1966). Homogeneous subcultures in which members hold similar values, however, can isolate students from those aspects of the college social system which embody alternative values, beliefs, and experiences. Newcomb (1962) identified size of the subculture, homogeneity and isolation of the group, and the importance to the members of group-supported attitudes as four conditions associated with the degree of influence student peer groups exert upon their members.

The Katchadourian and Boli typology (1985), based on the intensity of students' commitments to career preparation and liberal learning, holds promise for contributing to understanding the type of student likely to become active in campus protest. According to this scheme, despite their close ties to the faculty and the world of ideas, student intellectuals are the most likely of the four Katchadourian and Boli (1985) student types to become openly involved in social activism and protest. Careerists would be unlikely to become involved in social and political activities, preferring instead to focus on adhering to their career paths. The strivers feel a strong identification with the university, and are frequently involved in campus activities and volunteer service.The unconnected remain uninvolved in campus activities or volunteer service and would also be unlikely to participate in protest.

The Clark-Trow model of student subcultures (1960) identified four subcultures (i.e., vocational, academic, collegiate, and nonconformist) reflecting students' attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors. Students associated with the vocational student subculture perceive higher education as an avenue to an occupational future and are not likely to participate in campus activism. Members of the academic student subculture dedicate most of their efforts to the pursuit of knowledge and to earning high grade point averages. Social aspects of campus life dominate the orientation of members of the collegiate student subculture. These students identify closely with the institution and usually emerge as the leaders of university-sponsored cocurricular organizations. Members of the nonconformist student subculture are most likely to emerge as campus activists. Interested in the world of ideas, these students tend to be conscious of and disturbed by society's failure to find solutions to ideological, racial, and moral problems. However, caution must be displayed when applying the descriptor "nonconformist" to activist youth. Although nonconforming in some of their value orientations, student activists may, out of a sense of alienation from the rest of the college community (Keniston, 1965), develop their own code of behaviors and beliefs, resulting in a high degree of subculture conformity (Jacobs and Landau, 1966).

While student peer groups have been documented as potent sources of influence for students (Newcomb, 1962), research has yet to be conducted applying these student subculture perspectives to the study of activism on campus. Future eruptions of campus activism will provide the setting within which higher education scholars can test hypotheses of student subcultures and their involvement in social rebellion and campus protest.

### Activism and Maturation

While apathy, not action, appears to characterize many of the American college campuses of the 1980s, episodes of campus protest and their breaches of the peace must be expected. Higher education administrators would be foolish to believe that out-

pourings of youthful idealism and campus militancy have passed into history.Traditional-age college students are at a stage of personal development during which they are motivated to achieve autonomy and are only minimally constrained by the strictures of adult roles (Miller and Prince, 1976). As more adult learners enroll in higher education and the heterogeneity of student populations increases, mass mobilizations of campuses for social activism may be less likely to occur (Beeler, 1985; Downey, 1981). But college identification cards will continue to serve as "pass cards" (Jerome, 1971) for exploration, experimentation, and activism.

Rather than perceiving student activists as an "effete corps of impudent snobs" (Agnew, 1969), student affairs administrators can conceptualize student activism as a healthy aspect of the maturation process. Campus activism can represent not a breakdown in student development but evidence of its success. As developmental educators, student affairs administrators must acknowledge that student activism is both natural and desirable, and that youth, once aware of the injustices of the world, should fight to better society. Through their active and questioning presence on the campus, student activists provide a "minority vital to the excellence of a university" (Sommers, 1965).

A troublesome alternative to celebrating college students' awakening commitment to social activism is to

> put the student leaders out to pasture in some remote corner of the institutional ranch where, with adequate fencing, they can graze peacefully and wax fat and docile. They will then always be properly diffident, will be grateful for any little attentions tendered them, and will never ask embarrassing or challenging questions. They will graduate with the same sheeplike acceptance of directions that they brought with them as freshmen. They will also make no contribution to their own growth or that of the campus except to advance the state of atrophy in themselves and in their institution (Gould, 1960).

No grand regression equation can be formulated to predict which students are likely to emerge as campus activists on a particular campus after having been enraged over a particular issue at a particular point in time. Instead, the behavior of student activists is a function of a curious mixture of personal characteristics (i.e., psychosocial and cognitive development, values, temperament) and environmental conditions (i.e., peers,

family, political climate, institutional type, and administrative leadership). Weaving together concepts drawn from psychosocial, cognitive-development, and student subculture theories, however, does produce an intricate tapestry depicting the developmental issues associated with college student activism. The application of a single theoretical model could not provide so detailed a portrayal of activism on the campus. What emerges from combining these theoretical constructs is a picture of campus activists as maturing youth who are forging new personal relationships between self and society and struggling with issues of powerlessness and alienation (Keniston, 1968), youth who are exploring identities and seeking validation from family, peers, and society (Chickering, 1972; Clark and Trow, 1960), and youth who are becoming aware of the injustices of the world, the tentativeness of authority, and striving to individualize their moral judgments (Kohlberg, 1970; Feldman and Newcomb, 1969; Perry, 1970).

Dewey asserted (1939) that the true value of experience is not "borne on its face" but lies in subsequent impact. The activities of campus protest — rallies, debates, boycotts — provide college youth with opportunities for community and contexts for their exploration of personal growth. The processes of development, growing self-awareness, deepening commitment, and budding spirit of involvement are enhanced by youth's discovery of personal power through social action. College campuses provide a context in which youth can grow through social activism. The challenge confronting student affairs administrators is to help students utilize their rebellions and searchings more effectively, so that awakened social consciousness would emerge more fully as an enduring product of the developmental process and not just a passing episode in students' lives.

## Conclusion

Amid the increasing tension present on a campus witnessing student protest, it is often difficult for student affairs professionals not to confuse the "trouble making" of campus activists with the complex developmental issues unfolding for these youth. Protest songs serve as a powerful metaphor for depicting the

complex developmental issues associated with youthful activism. The rallies, demonstrations, and boycotts could be likened to the catchy melody of a protest song. The developmental issues of activist youth might be described as the song's harmony: a subtle, yet integral, component of the song's structure. The key in which this protest song is sung might correspond to the environmental factors present within both the campus and society. The song could be composed in either a major key (i.e., growth enhancing) or a minor key (i.e., growth inhibiting). Significant chords in the song might be represented by the psychosocial, cognitive developmental, and student subculture theoretical perspectives. Recurring notes forming these chords might represent the developmental themes (i.e., identity, autonomy, sense making, peers) unifying these three theoretical perspectives. The lyrics of this protest song might amplify the developmental and environmental issues as in the compelling message of hope, alliance, and determination evident in the lyrics, "Deep in my heart, I do believe that we shall overcome someday."

The protest song representing student activism on the campus thus results from the intricate interplay of developmental issues and environmental factors. Unfortunately, when angry voices of protest rock a campus, it is too often difficult for student affairs administrators to truly hear, understand, and appreciate the song.

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# Chapter 4

# Activism and the Campus Ecology

*James H. Banning and Donna L. McKinley*

An ecological perspective is a "mind set" which recognizes the need to examine relations between organisms and their environment to understand the behavior of the organism. The historical roots of the most current uses of the ecological perspective can be found in the work of Lewin (1936). Lewin expressed the ecological relationship in the formula B = f(pxe) where behavior (B) is a function (f) of the interaction (x) of person (p) and environment (e). Ecology has become a generic term for the study of the interaction between organisms and environments.

## An Ecological Perspective: A Heritage in Activism

In 1974 (Banning and Kaiser), the ecological perspective and the concept of campus ecology began to emerge as a useful tool for college student affairs. The ecological perspective provides a framework which encompasses the long-standing concern for the individual student, and an appreciation for the importance of the environment and the interaction between students and their environment. The ecological perspective represents a shift for student affairs staff from viewing student concerns as intrapsychic or interpersonal phenomena to be affected by changing or removing the individual to seeing behaviors as a matter of

environment-person interaction. Similar changes in perspective occurred simultaneously in other human service fields. For example in *Health, Behavior and the Community* (1979), Ralph Catalano stated:

> The fault in this (seeing the world as psychologists) is that psychology's basic assumptions, analogies, conventions, and exemplars are concerned with measuring and explaining individual behavior as a function of internal or very immediate influences. This person-oriented paradigm is of little help in measuring or explaining the economic and political forces which shape the larger environmental determinants of emotional stability.

The behavioral-ecology movement within community psychology also reflects this same shift: "Behavioral ecology attributes mental health problems to transactions between persons and settings, rather than to causes rooted exclusively within individuals or environments" (Jeger and Slotnick, 1982). Within a field closely related to college student affairs, Oetting (1967) noted that, "The counseling psychologist is . . . concerned with identifying the capabilities of the student and helping him *(sic)* find and locate an environment that will provide him with tasks he needs and can use."

This shift to an ecological perspective occurred at approximately the same time as the civil rights and antiwar movements and the 1960s version of student activism. In fact, student activism helped to promote the shift to a campus ecology perspective because it required an appreciation of the environment as a target for intervention. The interrelatedness of student activism and the campus ecology movement in student affairs work is illustrated by the following excerpt from Banning's *Campus on the Couch: An Ecological Analysis* (1987):

> An incident during the campus unrest . . . finally sparked my pursuit into the field that would eventually become known as campus ecology. In 1970, I was the director of the university's counseling center. At that time, demonstrations and student strikes had erupted at campuses across the country in response to the deaths of the Kent State students. While antiwar rallies, speeches, and other related activities were disrupting the daily routine on campus, one of the vice presidents made a request: Was there some way that I, as the university's mental health director, could channel the antiwar demonstrators into therapy? The administrator sincerely believed the seemingly antisocial behavior and dress of the demonstrators could be remedied by setting up therapy groups and/or individual treatment for the

> dissenters. . . I had to ask myself how we mental health professionals had managed to teach administrators to ask such questions.

Student activism and the campus ecology perspective also reflect similar themes. Flacks (1967) identifies the activist movement themes as romanticism, anti-authoritarianism, egalitarianism, antidogmatism, moral purity, community awareness, and anti-institutionalism. The campus ecology movement might be characterized as romantic (changing the environment), anti-authoritarian (moving away from the medical model), egalitarian (emphasis on participation), aware of community (emphasis on environmental interventions), and anti-institutional (recognizes the role traditional person-focused interventions play in maintaining status quo).

Can the ecological perspective be useful in studying the activism with which it shares roots? The ecological perspective has been used to look at a variety of campus issues: campus design (Banning and Kaiser, 1974), the managerial function of student affairs work (Banning, 1980), commuter students (Banning and Hughes, 1986), women students, and athletes (Banning, 1987). In addition, Banning and McKinley in 1980 utilized the ecological perspective to develop a taxonomy for the analysis of campus environments. Support for the use of the ecological perspective to study student activism can be found in the following statement made by Keniston in 1967:

> I have argued that no single factor can explain or help us predict the future of the student protest movement in America: active expressions of dissent have become more prevalent because of an interaction of individual, institutional, cultural, and historical factors.

Using the ecological perspective to study student activism requires that three basic questions be addressed: What are the characteristics of the persons involved in activism? What are the characteristics of the environments where activism occurs? And, finally, what are the activist behaviors that result from the interactions between persons and environments?

## An Ecological Analysis of Campus Activism: The '60s

Student activists have never comprised the majority of college students. However, in the 1960s, student activists were a suffi-

ciently large and visible proportion of college students to be the focus of considerable observation and analysis. The student activists appeared to fall into two personality types.

On the one hand, student activists of the 1960s have been described as an intellectually oriented, socially advantaged group who were reared in liberal homes and believed in the efficacy of social protest (Keniston, 1967). They were idealistic and secure enough in their social position to take up the causes of freedom, justice, rational public policy, and equal rights for all. In many ways they were acting on the social values of their liberal parents. Descriptions of personality traits of these student activists included: altruistic, highly motivated, intellectually oriented, unconventional, curious, impulsive, nonauthoritarian, flexible, and liberal (Keniston, 1967; Block, Haan, and Smith, 1973).

Keniston, however, also points out that a distinct group of students, who could be characterized by their alienation from society, also found an outlet through student protests. While there is, no doubt, some overlap between the two groups of students, it is probably the "alienated" group who most contributed to the labels "hippies," "commies," "dirty beatniks," "conspirators," "politicos," and other less favorable descriptors applied to the person variables of the times.

### The Environment of Student Activism

The environmental variable in the ecological equation is complex, and environmental influences on behavior are diverse. Within the literature on activism in the 1960s, many observers noted environmental influences both at the societal and institutional levels.

Sampson (1967) pointed to the societal issues that encompassed the entire nation. The civil rights movement, the antiwar movement, and the environmental protection movement are examples of national social issues and emerging values which influenced student behavior on campus.

A discussion of societal-environmental variables would not be complete without some mention of the mass communications

media. Because of the advanced capability of the mass media, national issues were brought to a local level with great speed and vividness. Sampson (1967) described how the mass media even perpetuated and elevated local issues. He also suggested that the media created issues that never existed and polarized positions. The sense of a "national" movement surrounding some issues was made possible by connecting local issues through national media coverage even though the participants were initially unaware of each other.

At the institutional level, potent environmental variables were also present. Sampson (1967) noted that the purpose of a university environment is "subversive" in nature, encompassing seeking new knowledge to replace old and the questioning process that is part of good teaching and research.

Sampson (1967) also suggested that the institutional environment often provided the triggering mechanism for activism, although many of the root causes were in the larger context of society. Several aspects of a university contribute to this process. The university brings together a critical mass of those personalities Keniston (1967) would identify as "protest prone," as described in the previous section on the personality of the student activist. This critical mass of similar persons becomes a very potent environmental variable, and Keniston (1967) suggested that there were campuses whose image helped recruit and select more activist students. Institutions which were viewed as having a fine academic reputation and academic freedom often served as a magnet for potentially activist students. Secondly, these campuses provided an environment which encouraged intellectual curiosity and idealism and the opportunity for interaction among the students.

Sampson (1967) also noted that the nature of the university's teaching environment which included the use of teaching assistants provided natural leaders for activists in the 1960s. He pointed out the leadership role played by the teaching assistants who appeared to be enough "in tune" with the culture of the undergraduate to agree with the issues and enough ahead of them to serve as role models for leadership.

Finally, sufficient discrepancy existed between students' themes of anti-authoritarianism, participation, egalitarianism,

and openness and the practices within the university environment to serve as a catalyst for activism. Trent and Craise (1967) indicated that 28 percent of the activism nationwide was stimulated by "living group regulations," 18 percent related to "campus policy making," 9 percent stemmed from "rules regarding 'controversial visitors to campus,' " 7 percent related to "curriculum inflexibility," and 4 percent was caused by concern over "academic freedom" for the faculty. In a sense, these local issues had enough compatibility with the national themes that the local campus environment became a microcosm of the larger societal issues. In sum, the campus environment not only attracted students with potential to become activists, but it also provided several issues to stimulate the activism.

### The Behavior of Activism

Many terms are used to convey the concept of activism: unrest, dissent, rebellion, anarchy, disorder. Activism is a complex behavior, but the concept usually implies dissent regarding the status quo. Several typologies of activist behaviors have been proposed (Trent and Craise, 1967; Sampson, 1967; Merton, 1957). A particularly useful schema is the one described by Block, Haan, and Smith (1973). They proposed a two-dimensional matrix including degree of involvement in political and social issues, and the degree to which the behavior reflects traditional values and acceptance of institutionalized rules and policies. Four classes of behavior can be identified by using the two dimensions:

- behavior involving social change and traditional means (behavior appropriate to tasks with an organization such as the Peace Corps)
- behavior involving social change and nontraditional means (the disruptive behavior that would be associated with such groups as the former Students for a Democratic Society)
- behavior that maintains the status quo (behavior typical of most uninvolved students)
- behavior that is nontraditional and seeks no social change (behavior associated with an alienated drug culture).

These four classes of behavior are important in understanding student behavior.

Using these descriptions of activist behavior, the relationships between personal characteristics and environmental characteristics which produce different forms of activist behavior begin to emerge. Alienated students are more likely to respond to stressful environmental conditions by escape into drugs. Idealistic students will seek opportunities to effect social change through traditional means or nontraditional means, depending on the opportunities available and responsiveness of the environment. This dimensional typology of activism is useful because it is not issues specific, but uses the broader dimensions of goals and methods to classify activism behavior. This is applicable to a variety of organizational environments and can be used in comparing behaviors at different periods in time.

## Campus Ecology as a Tool for Continuing Analysis

A major contribution of the ecological perspective to the analysis of campus issues is a systematic consideration of the campus environment. A structured approach to environmental analysis is offered by Moos (1974). Banning and McKinley (1980) applied Moos' system to the campus environment using the following six dimensions:

- geographical, meteorological, architectural, and physical design variables
- behavioral settings
- organizational structure
- personal and behavioral characteristics of inhabitants
- psychosocial characteristics
- functional analysis of environments.

These six dimensions can be used to analyze the campus environments of the 1960s as well as the campus environments of today and of the future.

In what ways can the ecological variables of geography, meteorology, architecture, and physical design impact campus activism? Certainly the geography and the associated climate im-

pact the likelihood of large outdoor gatherings. In the 1960s, the major protests did not occur at times or in locations associated with cold weather patterns. The intervention potential of weather conditions is noted by Banning and McKinley (1980):

> Weather has always been an intervention tool for student affairs, or at least a "wished-for" tool. During the demonstrations of the late 1960s and early 1970s . . . rain is usually wished for in the hope the momentum of the crowd will be dampened . . . few in the student affairs field can deny having had the "let's hope for rain" experience.

The relationship between heat and general rebellion is well documented in research (Berke and Wilson, 1951; Moos, 1974). There is no reason to expect weather to play a different role in future activism because there have been no major shifts in either the location of campuses or in climate. However, one could speculate that the air conditioning that has been installed in the residence halls might be a slight deterrent to mass gatherings outside the buildings in the early fall evenings — it is more pleasant for students to stay indoors.

Campus architecture has not changed, but the policy environment associated with campus buildings has changed. For example, in the '60s, residence hall policies and/or conditions surrounding visitation rules often stimulated protest. The arrangement of physical space in the residence hall often was a factor in the development of policy for, as an example, the location of restrooms. Protests regarding residence hall space could occur again, but the issues would probably focus on privacy and security rather than on visitation rules.

Barker (1968) developed the concept of behavior settings to denote conditions that exist in the environment that select and shape behavior. These selecting and shaping conditions are associated not only with the physical structures of the setting but its expectations, norms, and history. In this regard, one might expect that future activism could occur in places where it occurred in the '60s since the original physical environment is still in place and the history of prior activism is known. The steps of Sproul Hall on the University of California-Berkeley campus may always be a "behavioral setting" for student activism. In fact, the pattern of activism in the 1980s regarding apartheid in South Africa has generally followed the activism of the 1960s in terms of location and intensity.

Organizational structure includes such variables as size, formal and informal power structures, communication patterns, and systems of control. Within this dimension changes have occurred since the 1960s. More students are participating in university-wide governance and fewer campus decisions, particularly in the student life area, are made without significant student participation. The typical campus organizational structure has accommodated student participation in recent years. This accommodation may reduce future protests over local campus issues, as well as provide a mechanism to respond to broad social issues. If local and national issues can be discussed in board rooms, it may deter the need to "go to the street."

Another important dimension is the personal and behavioral characteristics of the inhabitants of the environment. Notable and significant changes have occurred since the 1960s in the characteristics associated with college students. Changes have occurred in student aspirations, goals, and attitudes (Astin, 1986), as well as in demographic characteristics, including age, ethnicity, race, and attendance status (Keller, 1983). Today's students can be generally described as more career oriented, status seeking, and pragmatic than their counterparts of the 1960s. These characteristics are in contrast to the themes of egalitarianism, community, and romanticism used by Flack (1967) to describe students of the 1960s. Similar differences are also noted by Levine (1980). These changes reduce the likelihood of having either an aggregate of socially advantaged idealistic youth with the security to pursue noble ends on behalf of others or an aggregate of students who have time to become involved in local or national issues.

Banning and McKinley (1980) suggested that the psychological characteristics can be used in looking at the "fit" between the psychosocial character or climate of the campus and the character of the student. A poor fit can produce behaviors that reflect lack of satisfaction and poor performance. A good fit can produce satisfaction and increase the probability of graduation (Pervin, 1968). The impact of this dimension cannot be separated from students' psychological socioeconomic characteristics. While the changes in these characteristics could inhibit student activism, the discrepancy between the needs and interest of

these new and different students and the traditional academic structures and student services may be severe enough to promote a new consumer-oriented activism.

Finally, functional or reinforcement analysis must be considered. This dimension addresses the question of rewards. What do students perceive to be the rewards, and how has this perception changed from the 1960s? Most would point to the major economic differences in the larger environment. Competition for positions requiring college-level work is greater. Choices about extracurricular activities are frequently made on the basis of potential for enhancement of the resume, and social protest is usually not rewarded in the job market. While conditions of war in Central America and the Middle East may loom on the horizon, the immediacy of the draft no longer exists as a determinant of behavior. Without the threat of the draft and with the need to be acceptable to the world of work, social activism is likely to take the form of mainstream volunteerism.

From this environmental analysis, the relatively quiet campus is understandable. Both conditions in the higher education environment and the inhabitants have changed. While some of these changes were noted for their potential to create activism, the overall impact of the changes is to curtail much of the activity associated with the protest movement of the 1960s. Those campuses which continue to host activism associated with South Africa, CIA visits, and Central America appear to have unique student-environmental conditions in comparison to campuses in general. These campuses, with few exceptions, are academically elite and continue to draw students who fit many of the descriptions of their counterparts of the 1960s.

## Activism of the Future: An Ecological Look Forward

To move from a static analysis of what has been to speculations for the future permits the incorporation of the dynamic aspects of the ecological perspective. Individuals and environments not only interact to produce describable behavior (i.e., the student activism which is the focus of this monograph), but people and environments can also be viewed as being engaged in a recipro-

cal transaction with change occurring in both. When there is congruence between the desires of the participants and institutional conditions and demands, the transactions occur comfortably. As discrepancies develop, the transactions become more troubled. At this point, the environmental conditions and the characteristics of the participants may interact to produce a new round of student activism.

What are the prospects for the future of student activism? To use the ecological perspective to hypothesize the future of student activism, attention must be given to questions about the campus environment of the future and the students.

If the campus environment of the future continues recent trends, it will be an environment of crises in the confidence given institutions. Much of the concern of 1960s youth regarding the lack of morality in the industrial-military complex has been found to be accurate. One has only to recall the Watergate scandal and the Iran-Contra affair to appreciate the significance of the observation. The results of these trends into the future may be twofold: a continuing crisis in confidence and overwhelming disillusionment, and unwillingness to take up the fight. If future idealism fails to emerge because of these conditions, then escape through increased alcohol and drug use may be one future scenario, and reversion to seeking security through jobs may be another alternative to seeking change through activism.

The changing demographic characteristics of our country will also play a role in future activism. The ethnic composition of the societal environment is changing, and activism and its intensity on campus will depend upon how the policy environment responds to the larger numbers of culturally diverse students. If institutions continue to be threatened by differences, the current backlash (e.g., increasing admission criteria based on culturally biased tests and the movement from need-based aid to merit-based aid), will probably continue. If so, future protests related to higher education may not come from within the academy but from those who are storming the walls from outside. If greater diversity is allowed, but supportive structural and programmatic changes are not made, then the activism may focus on more traditional student-as-consumer issues (i.e., availability of services, time and place of classes, costs).

Ironically, institutions of higher education may deter activism by losing sight of their basic purpose of seeking truth. The vocationalism of students and the rush to "high tech" and entrepreneurship by administration and faculty make the academic enterprise almost indistinguishable from the trade school and from corporate research and training centers. Without aggressive pursuit of truth, students may not be disturbed by the difference between what is and what can be. Without that knowledge, the environment will provoke little.

If there is dissonance between students' demands and conditions present in the campus environment, the student affairs professional has an opportunity to influence the nature of the student-environment transaction. This opportunity is typically coupled with great pressure from students for immediate and dramatic change and from the bureaucratic environment and governing boards to maintain the status quo. Change in either the person or the environment can be better or for worse. Perhaps a useful guiding principle is to strive to choose those strategies which are most likely to permit positive change in both the participants and the institutional environment.

In summary, an ecological analysis of student activism brings into focus the relationship between the environment and the students. The activism of the 1960s illustrated not only the complexity of this relationship, but also gave the opportunity for the application of ecological concepts.

An ecological analysis of current affairs suggests that large-scale student activism in the near future is unlikely for several reasons. As noted earlier, there have been enough positive changes in the organizational environment to "cool out" many issues. The trend toward a more diverse student body more involved in career-related activities also supports this prediction.

Finally, the ecological model suggests that if activism occurs in the future, the precipitating issue may be a poor "fit" between the new diversity of the students and the lack of institutional responsiveness. Student affairs administrators can be prepared to facilitate the transaction between students and the environment so that the institution can become more diverse and students can be engaged in the total educational process.

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# Chapter 5

# Student Activism: Strategies for Leadership

*Patrick M. Brown, Keith M. Miser, Narbeth R. Emmanuel*

Many of the problems of student activism in the late 1960s and early 1970s resulted from one or more of the following:

- a lack of clear institutional policies
- an inability to establish successful lines of communication between the institution and student leaders
- dramatic shifts in the legal relationships between the institution and students
- the role of on-campus law enforcement departments and off-campus police (Truitt, 1970).

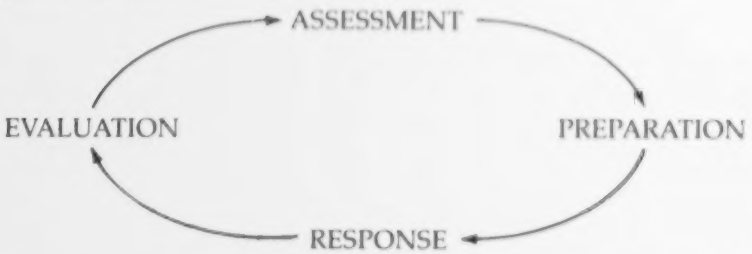
Situations created by these problems challenged institutions to respond within a sound educational philosophy.

Student affairs staff were often called upon to assist in solving the problems created by campus dissent. This request for assistance, however, often came at a time which did not allow for adequate planning. Consequently, as student affairs has evolved into a profession, staff members are more involved in policy formation, serve as advocates for student involvement, make institutional decisions, and function as the communication link to key student leaders and their organizations. Student

affairs staff have assumed roles of institutional leadership in creating a campus ethos as well as planning for institutional crises.

This chapter presents a four-stage systematic approach to student activism that may be applicable to a wide range of institutional settings. This approach is developed from successful institutional responses to campus dissent in the late 1960s and early 1970s, as well as approaches implemented successfully in recent activities focusing on South Africa and divestment or CIA recruitment on campus.

A realistic goal for any institution is to maintain consistent and strong communication with student activists to avoid a reactive approach to student unrest. As a first step, an institution should assess what factors or characteristics exist on campus that may shape student dissent. Next, a strategy for institutional response prior to the unrest should be identified and implemented. Third, the institution must respond to the dissenting students' activities. And last, those staff members involved need to evaluate the effectiveness of the chosen approach and apply the evaluation results to the continuing process of institutional assessment. The systematic process, in model form, appears as follows:




This approach is most effective if initiated as described, although the process can be applied at any time during a period of student unrest.

An institution's political climate significantly contributes to the ability of the community to work cooperatively in establishing mechanisms and directions for addressing social and political issues. The best approach to student activism is to anticipate an activity and work with the activist students prior to the devel-

opment of any problems. The success of creating this supportive, educational relationship is directly dependent upon the philosophy of the administrators involved. Complaints of being coopted by the administration can only be dispelled by trust developed prior to a period of unrest. Trust can be developed through working consistently with student activists by attending regular meetings, assisting with campus programs, and providing information that is important to student causes. If an adequate level of trust can be developed, activities which might otherwise develop into disruption may be negotiated prior to the potentially disruptive activity.

### Institutional Assessment

The Walker Commission Report (1968) specified that national forces such as civil rights, the peace movement (Vietnam War), the changing role of the university, the changing emphasis of organized religion, the growth of the affluent middle class, the ubiquity of television, the stresses of urbanization, and the failure of government agencies to quickly solve social problems contributed significantly to student activism. Truitt (1970) concluded that better academic preparation, antiquated traditional curriculum, 25 years of social upheavals, and alienation of students by the authority patterns of "the establishment" created a foundation upon which student discontent and power grew. Keniston (1968), after examining the great diversity of students involved in protest activities, described the students as either committed or alienated. The activities of activist students support the common belief that the college campus should be an environment that fosters serious questioning about the role and status of society, as well as demands for change. Understanding this environment, as it changes from year to year, semester to semester, and week to week, is critical in building a systematic approach to student activism.

An assessment of institutional characteristics should provide student affairs professionals with a composite picture of their campus and should include ideas on how activism might manifest itself. This information should then be used to design the overall institutional response to student activism — from

preparation to response to evaluation. A thorough assessment includes asking a series of questions that brings to light the character of a campus and how that character will affect political and social activities of students. A proposed outline of assessment questions, although not inclusive, is divided into three major categories: institutional factors, organizational factors, and external factors.

### Institutional Factors

*Values*
What are the overall values on campus?
Is there value placed on community involvement and social action?
Does the institution encourage student activism via campus policies?
Is the campus open to student involvement in decision making?
What is the image of the institution with regard to openness?
Is there an impersonal, alienated feeling on campus?
Do students easily form groups to address issues?

*Admissions/Academic Rigor*
What standards are applied in recruitment and admissions decisions?
Is there a correlation between the students with strong academic backgrounds and their involvement in campus activities?
Are academic expectations flexible, or low, enough to provide the highly qualified student with significant free time?

*Physical Environment*
What is the physical layout of campus?
Are there areas or buildings that are typically used for activist gatherings?
Are certain bulletin boards used to disseminate information?
Is there a specific area on campus designated as a free speech area and which is open to use by students at anytime?

*Calendar*
Are there particular programs scheduled on campus that lend themselves to an activist gathering?
What types of recruiters (CIA, defense industry) are appearing on campus under the auspices of the career development office?
How widely is recruiting information distributed?
Are there any holidays or significant dates that are typically recognized?
What major speaker or concert might create conflict?
How are local and national elections responded to on campus?
Are major political figures planning to visit campus?
When do campus vacations occur?
Might a vacation period dissipate some of the activists' energy?

*Campus Traditions*
What are the traditional campus programs (commencement, registration) that are conducive to highly visible protest activities?
Are there other campus traditions that would provide a good environment for exposure to a large group of students, faculty, and/or staff?

*Law Enforcement*
What is the general relationship between students and campus security?
What is the relationship between students and local law enforcement agencies?
What is the relationship between campus security and local law enforcement agencies?
Do any of these relationships create conflict?

*University/Student Relations*
What are the means of communication between the university and the students?
Is the relationship between students and the administration supportive or adversarial?
Are the students open to assistance from the university?
How heterogeneous is the group of student activists?

Do certain members of the group have close relations with any administrators?

*Type of Campus*
Is the campus a single-institution campus or a member of a statewide system?
Are there issues that affect all institutions in the system?
Could activities about a statewide issue be located on your campus with students from other institutions attending?

## Organizational Factors

*Student Organizations*
What type of student organizations have been recognized presently?
Do any of the recently recognized student organizations represent a change in political climate?
Are there any progressive, activist organizations?
Are there any "right-wing oriented" organizations?
Do these groups ever relate to one another?
Are there conflicts between these groups?
How active are the groups?
Do they provide consistent, well attended programs on campus, or do they surface to address only a particular issue?

*Group Composition*
What type of student is involved with the activist groups?
Are there any nonstudents involved with the groups?
Are the undergraduate students involved of a traditional age?
Are graduate students involved?
Are faculty and staff involved?

*President of the Institution*
What is the president's position regarding activism?
Is the president accessible to students?
Does the president have any experience with student unrest?
How does the president view the student affairs division?

*Board of Trustees*
Does the board have a position with regard to the focus of the unrest?
How do the board members react to open meetings with large groups of activists in attendance?
Who is the appropriate liaison with the chairperson?
How accessible are board members to students and faculty?

*Governance Systems*
What is the status of the traditional governance groups (faculty, staff, and student) on campus?
Are they addressing any controversial issues?
Has "the activist group" attempted to erode campus trust of the traditional governance system?
Are the meetings of each governance group open to the public and therefore a possible setting for public display or demonstrations?

*Faculty*
What has been the role of faculty activists in the past?
Are faculty activists involved with the unrest?
What type of activities have involved faculty members supported in the past?

**External Factors**

*Media*
How are the campus media used by "the activist groups"?
Is there an alternative newspaper on campus, or in the community, that provides campus or local activist information?
What is the relationship between the activist groups and campus and off-campus media (print and broadcast)?
Can the media provide information about what to expect from "the activist groups" or the community?

*Outside Influences*
What is the possibility of off-campus, community activists manipulating student behavior?

Are the activists in the community easily identified?
With what type of activities have community activists been involved?
Are community activists aware of campus policies?
Are they willing to cooperate with campus police policies?

*Community Relations*
Will activism influence the way the community responds to the campus?
What might happen if the protest activities extend beyond the campus boundaries to local, state, or federal property?
What level of involvement from the institution is expected by the community?
What level of involvement is legally possible?

*Climate*
What restrictions are created by the climate?
Is it too hot or too cold for a sustained protest?
Will the climate require that protest activities take place inside buildings?
How would rain, snow, or other severe weather influence protest efforts?

*International/National/Local Events*
How have international and national events (Contra aid vote, apartheid) affected your campus in the past?
What local events (sexual assault, town/gown relations) have created interest on campus?
What events might occur this semester that could elicit student activism?

These are but a few of the questions that need to be asked before an appropriate preparation plan can be developed. This set of questions, although germane to most campuses, must be assessed for its relevance to the needs of a particular campus. Questions must also be subject to ongoing evaluation in order to reflect shifts in attitudes and values on campus and in society.

## Institutional Planning

Identifying planning strategies that will allow institutions to approach student dissent through sound educational principles is important. The following is an example of institutional preparation for student activism on campus (adapted from Emmanuel, 1986).

### *Institutional Policy*

One of the lessons learned from the past is the need for a policy regarding student activism that clearly articulates the position of the institution. Miser (1986) suggested that, "In anticipation of student unrest sometime in the next few years, each campus should renew or create a clear policy on dissent and disruption" (p. 28). Such a policy must reflect the mission, goals, values, and philosophy of the institution. Further, it is critical that the policy be in accord with constitutional and case law that guarantees students the right of expression as well as due process. Truitt (1970) stated,

> Students also may express their views by demonstrating peacefully for concepts they wish to make known, and the University will make every reasonable effort to protect that right. The University also has an equal and simultaneous obligation to protect the rights and freedoms of students who do not choose to participate in a demonstration. Similarly, the University is obliged to protect its property and to prohibit interference with scheduled activities of students, university personnel, and guests on the campus (p. 45).

### *Adjudication Process*

As a consequence of dissent during the 1960s, many institutions dramatically reformed their judicial systems. This reform eroded the concept of *in loco parentis* and instituted a judicial system that conforms to the standards of the legal profession. Therefore, administrators should review carefully the institutional judicial system in light of any anticipated student activism. This

review is an essential component of the preparation process because of the likelihood that the judicial system will become a symbol of protest.

The judicial hearing officer or body performs a significant function when considering the judicial process. To eliminate any questions about individual biases, the hearing officer or members of the body should not be involved in the administrative response to student activism. The judicial officer should brief the hearing body, if one is used, about the differences between dissent and disruption, and the philosophy of the institution. The body should know that dissent, organized activity which expresses grievances held against society or the university, falls within the limits of freedom of speech, assembly, and petition. However, disruption is not protected by the First Amendment and interferes with the rights of others.

Careful thought should be given to any request for a special hearing panel because of the uniqueness of dissenting activities. Attempts will be made to discredit the present system by suggesting that it will not afford a fair hearing of the activities and is "pro-establishment." A hearing system that has a sound educational philosophy, is fair and consistent, affords the necessary due process, and maintains its credibility will stand the tests of time and student unrest.

There is likely to be great pressure on the judicial system from various internal and external interest groups. Special requests for information, or changes in the process, may originate from many groups, including the media, student activists, and the faculty. When exceptions to the established judicial process are necessary, legal counsel should be consulted. These special requests reinforce the need to review and confirm the institutional philosophy, values, and goals as demonstrated by the judicial system.

### *Communication Networks*

There should be an effective communication network which links administrative officials, student affairs staff, and student activists. Briefings, consultations, and clarification of policies are essential elements of a successful network. The chief student

affairs officer should be in direct contact with the president and all other administrative units. S/he should be authorized by the president to take steps deemed necessary to assure the orderly operation of the institution. Only through effective communication with members and leaders of the activist group can one sense their moods and anticipate problems. Failure to have an effective and efficient communication network is likely to result in chaos, confusion, and misinformation, thus creating a climate of escalated tension and disruption. Astin, Astin, Bayer, and Bisconti (1975) suggest that "willingness by administrators to establish communications with protesters seemed to be one way of avoiding violence" (p. 86).

### *Campus Security*

If communication, compromise, and mediation have failed to prevent student unrest, campus security will be required to enforce university policies. Special training for security staff which involves the appropriate student affairs staff is imperative and should include

- discussion and clarification of the issues behind the current protest activity
- review of the values of today's students in general and, more specifically, those of the student activists
- clarification of situations which may warrant a change in role from campus security officer
- explanation of all policies that are applicable, especially dissent and disruption guidelines
- understanding of the need to be flexible.

Throughout the training process it should be stressed that security officers' responses to a volatile situation could mean the difference between nonviolent and violent reactions from the students.

### *Staff Development*

Developing and delivering a carefully planned staff training program on dissent, disruption, and student activism are criti-

cal. Institutional policies on dissent and disruption must be explained, as well as the roles of the staff members and the system of institutional response, including the principles and standards that reflect the institution's philosophy on dissent. This presentation is important because it prepares the staff to respond more effectively.

Staff training should also include a segment on understanding student values, the background of the causes or issues focused upon by the activists, and typical dissent activities and their possible consequences. Finally, the staff must realize the critical nature of their role in promoting a climate that assures freedom of expression, open communication, and negotiation and flexibility while protecting the rights, safety, and well-being of all participants. The student affairs professional must be able to relate to diverse segments of the academic community at all times, but particularly when situations are extremely volatile. Therefore, a sound philosophy based upon educational and humanitarian principles must guide institutional actions in response to student activists.

### Institutional Response

When an institution enters a period of student activism, it is critical that a plan be followed. If there is any warning of impending activism, an institutional steering committee should be established to coordinate the college or university efforts. The committee should reflect traditional institutional practices, communication networks, and governance patterns. For example, there could be a steering committee chaired by the chief student affairs officer, and include in its membership representatives from campus security, the general counsel's office, the public relations office, the residence halls professional staff, the student activities office, and the judicial affairs officer. The situation might also call for a representative from the faculty senate, staff council, or student government.

The steering committee will interpret institutional policy, foster communication, and recommend courses of action to the central administration. The group should strive for perfect attendance and should meet frequently (daily, if necessary), from

the institutional assessment phase through the entire activist period. If the committee functions correctly, all decisions, options, and potential problems can be discussed using the expertise of all present and will consider institutional policies, traditions, and practices. Each college or university is a unique institution, and all decisions regarding responses to student unrest must be consistent with the norms and values of the higher education community (Haynes, 1970).

### *Leadership*

During any period of activism, involvement by administrative leadership in determining institutional response is essential. The chief student affairs officer, as the chairperson of the steering committee, should continuously communicate with the president of the college or university. Often, the vice president for student affairs or the dean of students will be designated as the institutional spokesperson to work directly with the activist leaders, other campus constituencies, local leaders, and the media. This role, as an active link among conflicting groups, is typical of today's chief student affairs officer. In the past, student affairs officers did not always assume a leadership role and were viewed by many on campus, including the activists, as weak, ineffective leaders (Shaffer, 1970).

Clear, frequent, and sincere communication with the traditional campus governance groups is very important. Often during a period of activism, the activist leaders will speak strongly as representatives of the student body, even though not elected or appointed to any formal representative position. If the institution responds only to the activist leaders and not to the student senate, residence halls association, Greek governance groups, and faculty leadership, the power of these recognized groups is seriously eroded. Institutional leaders should communicate with the activists, but should defer to the formal governance groups for advice, decisions, and support. This technique will be most effective with governance groups that are already strong, viable, and viewed by the campus as truly representative. Occasionally, this route will be made difficult by an activist

group clearly wishing to denigrate the formal governance groups and label them "tools of the administration."

### *The Media*

Several areas of special note must be considered when planning institutional responses to dissent. The first of these is the use of the media. Every effort will probably be made by the dissenting students to use the media to communicate dissent activities and concerns to the local area, the state, and, on occasion, the entire nation. Most television and radio stations and newspapers will respond quickly to calls from the dissenting groups to cover a rally, sit-in, or disruptive acts. The media will probably view such activities as newsworthy.

The administrative response to media presence should be highly professional. A chief spokesperson should be designated to communicate institutional policies, philosophy, and the reasons for making certain decisions. The spokesperson should be articulate and well informed about the dissent issues and should avoid defensiveness. In general, it is good policy to be open with the media, because the story will be presented regardless of whether one cooperates or not. It is also more professional to give them accurate information than to be evasive. The message is best articulated by a designated spokesperson, rather than someone the reporter is forced to interview from the crowd.

### *Campus Security*

On any campus a great deal of discussion can be generated about the proper use of campus security during student dissent. Usually, the best policy is to try to manage the dissent using student affairs staff, faculty volunteers, and student leaders as support "staff" (instead of using campus security). The best possible situation is a predetermined policy that stipulates under what conditions campus security are to be used. On most campuses, campus security should be used in some way and at some level to keep order, protect property, and assure institutional operations.

Prior to and during dissent activities, students must be told clearly the limits of the dissent activities, the delineation between dissent and unacceptable disruption, and the consequences of disruption. If the students assemble, speak, and dissent within acceptable guidelines, a confrontational situation will have been avoided. If students cross the line to those actions that clearly are disruptive to the institution, its normal activities, and to personal freedoms, action must be taken. As a first step, professional staff members from the student affairs division and the faculty should try to work with students to attempt to restore order and to move the activities from those which are disruptive to those which are dissenting in nature.

If the activity escalates from dissent to disruption, it may be necessary to call in the campus security force. Upon the arrival of campus security officers, continued attempts should be made to restore order. The professional staff should warn the protesters of violations of policy and law. Warnings should also be given about the potential for arrest. This activity must be paced slowly enough to alleviate the highly charged atmosphere and to create and maintain a rational environment.

The campus security officers making arrests should be well trained, confident, articulate, and calm. If possible, each person facing arrest should be given the choice to leave before being arrested. Great care should be taken to avoid excessive force in making arrests. Excessive force will always bring discredit to the institution and foster more unrest and violence (Foster and Long, 1970). During the arrests and processing of charges, faculty and student affairs witnesses should be available to substantiate, if necessary, the manner in which the campus security officers acted.

### *Action and Reaction*

In an environment wrought with dissent, dissenting students may attempt to force an overt, ill-prepared institutional response to escalate the level of activity to receive more media attention. At some institutions, what would have been an acceptable level of protest has grown to a massive, newsworthy activity because of the institution's response to the initial incident.

While working with dissenting students, the institution's reaction to the students' actions must be carefully thought out in advance. At times nonaction will de-escalate the activity. Often administrators are tempted to set deadlines to leave buildings or to stop a disruptive action. Usually when a specific deadline for compliance is set, the deadline becomes a rallying point for the dissent group. For this reason, it is much better not to set specific compliance deadlines, if at all possible. De-escalation decisions are difficult because, on the surface, the decision not to act tends to make the administration appear weak and unresponsive. Often, however, this seemingly apparent weakness will be effective in the long run and, in retrospect, will be seen as strong, yet restrained and tolerant, leadership.

Another point to examine when considering action is that martyrdom can create a rallying point for dissenters. To make examples of activist students by using selective disciplinary action or arrest will almost always produce a hero. The martyr is likely to become an even stronger leader in the eyes of the group, and will encourage and escalate dissenting action.

### *Evaluation*

After campus leaders have attempted to respond effectively to student unrest, it is usually difficult to garner the time or the energy to evaluate the responses and the consequences of those responses. The entire experience of responding to student activism is a difficult one for student affairs administrators. Personal values are questioned. Relationships with students developed over past semesters are threatened and, at times, dissolve completely. Many feelings about the issues and decisions have been repressed. The problems of acting as a neutral, rational figure usually take a toll. It is disheartening to feel misunderstood by some members of the campus community.

A meeting of the student activism steering committee to process and evaluate the past activities will meet two specific needs: a personal need to end the experience and an institutional need to evaluate the institution's response and identify alternative approaches for the future.

The personal need to end the activism experience is a significant one. Although it might not occur in an organized debriefing meeting (for the environment might not be conducive to personal disclosure), individuals often arrange for personal time with other members of the steering committee outside the typical work setting to discuss the total experience. Support from the chief student affairs officer throughout this discussion is critical. Areas of concern might include the significant time commitment, developing close relationships with student activists, and successfully managing media coverage. Support from one's supervisor and colleagues can go far in providing necessary feedback for future personal and professional activities.

Institutional needs include a careful, thorough evaluation of the entire response process. The adequacy of the institutional assessment should be evaluated. Should the assessment process be expanded to include more areas of interest or impact? Can information from the evaluation process apply directly to future activities? Were all the necessary constituent groups included in the preparation process? Do policies and judicial processes need to be examined? Was legal counsel utilized in an appropriate manner? Were communication plans, both internal and external (e.g., local media), effective? Did established roles remain clear throughout the activity? Were the decisions appropriate for the institution, for the type of student activism involved, and for the students themselves?

A consistent, systematic approach to student activism will prepare institutional leaders to respond effectively to the numerous demands created by student unrest. Again, the institutional response to student activism must be appropriate to the institution. No absolute answers exist as effective responses. Good planning, well-defined policies, excellent communication, articulate leadership, respect for individuals, and some luck will make success more likely.

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# Chapter 6

# Student Activism Policy: A Statement of Institutional Philosophy

*Keith M. Miser*

To prepare for any period of dissent, each institution should have a carefully designed and clearly articulated institutional philosophy and policy about dissent. Such policies may differ widely, depending on institutional traditions, values, history, and leadership. Factors such as geographical region, composition of the student body, and institutional size will also play a role in developing such a policy. In addition to these factors, a policy on dissent must be written within acceptable legal parameters, assuring the constitutional guarantees afforded students as members of American society.

Although 3-10 percent of the students on campuses were actively involved in dissent activities (Peterson, 1968), student activists influenced their institutions and, indeed, American higher education as a whole. During the turmoil in the late 1960s and early 1970s, many institutions did not have a stated institutional philosophy on freedom of expression or any policies designed to shape an institutional response to dissent activities.

Without clear statements of policy and procedure regarding dissent, colleges and universities were unable to deal effectively with issues of internal political pressures and external influences which called students to active protest. In the late 1960s, students responding to the issues of civil rights, *in loco parentis* policies, and the Vietnam War attempted to use the campus as the setting to demand social change. Students found that civil disobedience, including sit-ins and strikes, could capture national attention which, in turn, could create an environment conducive to change (Lundsford, 1968). Intimidation, confrontation, and violence became the rule on campuses not prepared for dissent (Freedman and Kanzer, 1970).

In the aftermath of protest many authors, researchers, and commissions addressed the causes of dissent, institutional responses to it, and legal rights of students and institutions. Most of these studies asserted that clear policies and guidelines were essential for guidance during dissent. Sol Linowitz (1970), writing for the American Council on Education's Special Committee on Campus Tensions, wrote that policies on dissent must be clarified, and that colleges and universities must reassess the roles and responsibilities of administrative officers to allow institutions to deal effectively with dissent and disruption.

The Scranton Report of the Findings of the President's Commission on Campus Unrest (1970) further stated,

> The university should promulgate a code making clear the limits of permissible conduct and announce in advance what measures it is willing to employ in response to impermissible conduct. It should strengthen its disciplinary process. It should assess the capabilities of its security force and determine what role, if any, that force should play in responding to disorder (p. 12).

Mitchener (1971), in his study of the Kent State tragedy, also repeated the assertion that a university must have policies and plans to deal with disruption.

### The Basis for Policy on Campus Dissent

All policy should be born out of institutional values and the belief systems of administrators, faculty, and students. Policies should also be written in concert with legal precedents and con-

stitutional guarantees. They should be tested and confirmed by the key campus governance groups, such as the board of trustees. Finally, policies on dissent must define dissent and disruption and contain a process to deal with those who violate the policies.

The Carnegie Commission stated that "a university's effective response to campus unrest is dependent on a clear understanding of the distinction between disruption and dissent" (Aaron, Jonas, Kaled, Lorenz, 1971). Disruption was defined as activity not protected by the First Amendment and which interferes with the rights of others. Dissent is individual or organized activity which expresses grievances held against, or changes desired in, society at large or on a campus, or both. Dissent is carried on within the limits of the democratic process of freedom of speech, assembly, and petition (Carnegie Commission Report, 1971). The commission recommended that

- evaluation of and response to events on a campus be based upon the distinction between dissent and disruption
- dissent be protected as a democratic right and a major means of renewal for society and that repression be rejected
- disruption be met by the full efforts of the campus to end it and, where necessary, by the general law while guarding against excessive force by law enforcement personnel (Carnegie Commission, 1971).

Student affairs professionals, especially the chief student affairs officer, must play a major role in developing policies on dissent and disruption. On most campuses in the 1980s, student affairs professionals are likely to be the institutional representative who will interpret, enforce, and adjudicate the policy. Thus, their active involvement early in the process is essential. As educators, student affairs staff believe that a clear policy is an educational tool that fosters campus dialogue on controversial issues, but also sets limits to protect the rights of all students during campus dissent.

Several steps are necessary to create a useful policy on dissent and disruption. First, current practices, policies, and laws that could have an impact on campus dissent should be reviewed. This policy review can be accomplished by a university

task force appointed by the president and chaired by the chief student affairs officer. The task force should include faculty leaders, student affairs professionals, student leaders, and legal counsel. Any review of past practices should include investigation of the institution's history of dissent, traditions of free speech on campus, and institutional values and philosophy regarding dissent and disruption. This discussion can serve as the basis for a unique and useful institutional policy.

As the policy is developed, care should be taken not to simply adopt policies from other institutions, although good ideas can be obtained from a review of policies of peer schools. A policy should be designed that meets the unique needs of each institution. Learning from the past by reviewing the reports and commission findings of the Vietnam War era is also important. However, the Vietnam War ended more than a decade ago. Institutions are very different, the climate in America has changed, and student values have changed. If a college or university has a policy on dissent that was written years ago, this policy should be reviewed and updated. The updated policy should parallel recent court precedents, institutional directions, and contemporary student values.

### Elements of Policy on Campus Dissent

An effective policy on dissent and disruption is composed of several elements. The first element is a statement of university or college beliefs and philosophy. What does the institution believe about dissent? Is dissent a valued tradition on campus? Are students encouraged to dissent? Are dissent and critical thinking part of the educational process? Is a call to social action part of the institutional mission?

Second, the policy must contain careful and clear definitions of dissent and disruption. This section should also give examples of what is and is not acceptable behavior. Effective policies include lists that more precisely identify those acts which are violations. Some policies define acts which are acceptable in the campus community. This section will be vital to teaching students involved in dissent where the line is drawn between permissible and prohibited behaviors.

Third, the policy should discuss the consequences of disruption. Procedures should be explained clearly so that there is no doubt about what will happen if the policies are violated.

Fourth, the policy must give authority to institutional officers to act if disruption occurs. This section should indicate who will decide whether student action is dissent or disruption. The role of campus security or police may also be defined in this section.

Finally, the policy must indicate the adjudication process that will be used in cases of students accused of disruption. The policy may indicate that such cases will be handled by the usual campus judicial process or, in some cases, a special process may be created.

Examples of several policies on dissent and disruption can be found in the Appendix. The policies included give a broad range of policy options that have served a variety of institutions.

### Policy Approval, Implementation, and Evaluation

After a policy has been created or revised, it should be approved by the appropriate governing body or bodies. Using the institutional approval process and subsequent endorsement of the policy by the various constituencies are necessary to the acceptance and credibility of the policy. If the policy is used as the basis for arrest or student disciplinary action, many will not agree with the policy, regardless of the approval process. However, if the policy was approved by formal governance bodies, support is more likely. After approval by the appropriate governance groups and administrative leaders, the policy must be included in student handbooks, catalogs, and other publications. All members of the campus community should be aware of the policy. It should be made available in the appropriate publications generally used to communicate policy to students and should be included in staff manuals, such as those used for residence hall staff.

Policies on dissent should be reviewed annually and any changes endorsed by the appropriate officials and governance bodies. One cannot conduct a thorough, thoughtful, and sane review of a policy on dissent and disruption during a period of

dissent. The emotional and political tension of such a time make an effective review impossible. Institutions must have a sound policy before crises arise.

At some schools, the best time to review the policy is following a period of student unrest. Information from recent incidents can be used to help evaluate the policy. The policy can be revised to meet institutional and student needs the next time student dissent occurs. Above all, review must be conducted carefully and with a great deal of thought given to process and institutional timing.

Policy development and review is critical at any institution. Policies on dissent and disruption touch the basic constitutional freedoms that are precious to any college or university. Counterbalancing these freedoms is the need for order and the protection of the rights of all students: those who dissent and those who do not. A good policy on dissent will meet the needs and protect the rights of all students. It will serve as a significant document for administrators, faculty, and student affairs professionals as they strive to lead the institution through a difficult period of dissent.

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# Chapter 7

# A Case Study: Responses to Student Activism

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Student affairs professionals who find themselves in the limelight generated by student activism often have little time or opportunity to integrate all that they know about effective responses to the immediate crisis. As the previous chapters have indicated, history, developmental theory, campus environment, leadership roles, and institutional philosophy all influence reactions to student protest. In addition, individual personalities and past experience help to mold our responses.

To provide a practitioner's viewpoint on student activism, six student affairs professionals were asked to respond to the following case study. A single case study cannot incorporate all of the unique characteristics, institutional cultures, or histories of dissent found at a variety of institutions. In recognition of this limitation and to provide valuable responses to a wide range of

readers, representatives of different types of institutions in different geographic areas were included.

### *Case Study*

A small group of students and faculty have been lobbying the board of trustees to divest all financial interests in corporations that do business in South Africa. Students Opposed to Apartheid (SOTA) organized with approximately 20 students and five faculty members at the beginning of fall semester. Since then, support for SOTA has grown on campus, but no large-scale protests have occurred over the institution's investment of $5,356,000 in corporations doing business in South Africa.

At SOTA's request, the board of trustees has discussed divestment at its meetings in November and December. SOTA members were given an opportunity to present their views peacefully at both meetings. In both cases, the nine-member board voted not to divest by a 6-to-3 margin. The only concession offered by the board included a motion which passed unanimously during the December meeting to reconsider divestment of any corporations that do not abide by the Sullivan principles. A review of Sullivan compliance will be presented by the comptroller at the next board meeting in late January.

During the first week of classes in January, the student newspaper reported that three of the board members who opposed divestment had a personal financial interest in corporations that do business in South Africa. Two of the members were alleged to have personal investments and a third is president of a bank which was reported to have extensive investments in corporations which produce goods in South Africa. SOTA immediately condemned this apparent conflict of interest and called for an emergency meeting of the trustees. The next day, seven SOTA members, including two faculty members, protested the conflict of interest and the trustees' failure to divest by linking arms in front of the president's office and refusing to let anyone enter or leave. The protesters were repeatedly asked by university police officers to permit people to enter or leave the office. After three hours, they were advised that they could continue their protest but must allow normal entry and exit or they

would be cited for disruption of university activities and disorderly conduct, arrested, and removed. The protesters refused to move from the doorway and were handcuffed, carried to a waiting police van, booked, and released.

### *Current Situation*

SOTA members have scheduled a rally in support of divestment this afternoon in front of the library. They have called for the resignations of the three board members, accused the university police of brutality in removing the protesters from the president's office, demanded that all charges be dropped, and promised further protests if their demands are not met.

SOTA members are also beginning construction of a symbolic shanty town in front of the administration building and plan to occupy the shanties until the trustees divest. Several student government officers and academic senate leaders have called for an emergency meeting of those bodies and proposed motions condemning the administration for the arrest of the faculty and students.

## Response #1

Alexandra Warshaw
Dean of Student and Community Services
Berkshire Community College
Pittsfield, Massachusetts

Berkshire Community College was the first of 15 community colleges in Massachusetts. Because the community college is, by mandate, an open-admission institution, student academic capabilities range from those which are above average to those which require developmental courses. The current day enrollment is 2,129, with 51 percent of the day population over the age of 23. Many of the students are part of the local workforce, both full and part time. Approximately 40 percent receive some type of financial aid and 48 percent are enrolled part time.

Berkshire Community College has a small core of students who are actively involved in student government and general

college activities. The day students typically come to the campus for class and leave by 2:00 p.m. for home or work. A student body with these characteristics is not likely to respond in a fashion similar to that described in the case study.

Given the current case study situation, the staff of the office of the dean of students must take immediate action. Because of the size of Berkshire Community College, the three deans and president can consult in an expeditious manner and, because the situation has escalated to its current stage, there must be agreement at this executive level on any actions. Key student affairs professionals should convey recommendations to the president and the other two deans immediately. Once agreement is reached on a course of action, the following process would be implemented.

The SOTA members cited for disruption of college activities and disorderly conduct on the campus must be processed by the College Code of Conduct. This procedure should be initiated immediately and would take place concurrently with other activities relating to the protest.

Since one of our primary functions is to teach and to allow opportunities for an exchange of ideas, we would immediately consider providing a one-day "teach-in" following the models established in the late '60s and early '70s. The board of trustees, administrators, students, faculty, and all other members of the college community would be invited to participate. The "teach-in" would be planned by a committee of 8 to 12 people representing different campus constituencies and every effort would be made to bring in a wide variety of experts on the subjects of apartheid, investments in South Africa, and investment strategies in general.

The next step would be to establish mediation among all the parties involved, including representatives of the board of trustees, SOTA, the student senate, faculty leaders, and the administration. The mediation process would be televised to various campus locations and should take place during the hours of 9 to 12 when the majority of our students and faculty are on campus. At each television site, there would be a team of student affairs professionals and faculty prepared to handle discussions and questions as they arise. At the conclusion of the mediation, we hope that the institution will have gone through both a learning

and a healing process which would allow us to return to normal activities.

The possible outcomes of the mediation process could include, but would not be limited to, the following:

- charges against the students and faculty would be dropped in return for agreements on more acceptable forms of protest
- awareness on the part of individuals and their constituencies on the issues as seen by each side
- development of a standing committee to advise the president and board of trustees on investment issues.

All of these steps, taken under the leadership of the president and the three deans, make a statement to the college and community that physical disruptions and disorderly conduct will not be tolerated but, as an educational institution, we cherish and encourage freedom of speech and expression. We have a mandate to educate in the broadest sense which includes participation in the democratic process with all its inherent advantages and disadvantages.

### Response #2

Erica Wonnacott
Dean of Students
Middlebury College
Middlebury, Vermont

Middlebury College is a small, private liberal arts college in rural Vermont. Middlebury has a highly selective national and international student body of 2,000 students.

The case study states that SOTA members were given an opportunity to present their views at two meetings of the board of trustees. For this response, I assume that board members are as opposed to apartheid on moral grounds as SOTA members. The difference between the groups lies in the ways apartheid can be eliminated most rapidly, either through total divestment or compliance with the Sullivan principles.

Given the situation as presented in the case study, I would request a moratorium on further protests and call an all-college

meeting to explore options to disruptive protest activities. I would also arrange a meeting between SOTA and the board of trustees. This meeting would be chaired by the president of the college so that each side would have a chance to explain its position. This meeting would encourage the understanding that people of good will can have conflicting ideas about the means of achieving a common goal. It would also help defuse the emotion in this situation and lead to productive dialogue.

After this meeting, I would call a second all-college meeting. I would ask the president of the college to summarize the discussion and to announce a colloquium series to present speakers on both sides of the divestment issue. If SOTA continued constructing the shanty town, I would provide campus security protection and encourage student affairs staff to be frequent visitors. In other words, I would demonstrate the institution's acceptance of SOTA's right to protest. I believe the college administration and others should promote respect for differing opinions and try to move issues of contention to the realm of reasoned discussion.

Perhaps this process is easier to pursue at a small college in a rural area relatively free from outside agitators. A small school like Middlebury also has an inherent sense of community and trust because the players know one another. It is important to avoid we/they confrontations that have rigidly drawn lines. Since most issues are complex and lend themselves to divergent opinions, all participants must understand why others feel as they do. This understanding requires anticipation of issues and open communication among different factions. To achieve this, student affairs administrators and others have to get away from their desks, go to student meetings, read student newspapers, and be available to students.

### Response #3

Daniel Nowak
Vice President for Student Affairs
San Diego State University
San Diego, California

San Diego State University is a large, public institution with an enrollment of over 35,000 students. Over 90 percent of all freshmen are from California, but 28 states and 35 foreign countries are also represented in the freshman class. Only 5 percent of the undergraduate population lives in on-campus residence halls and over 40 percent of the students attend on a part-time basis.

If we have learned anything from the past 20 years of campus unrest, it is that few issues of any magnitude emerge unheralded and none of us must face these challenges unprepared. In fact, the most important decisions regarding the SOTA confrontation may be those made prior to the actual incident. I believe it is the chief student affairs officer who has the greatest opportunity to provide leadership and vision in encouraging members of the campus community to be fair, firm, consistent and direct in any situation. Leadership also means having policies and practices in place which reflect this approach prior to trying to deal with a difficult situation.

At San Diego State University our commitment to open inquiry is constrained only by the need to preserve the integrity of the educational process. University policies have been developed governing the time, place, and manner in which constitutional rights of free expression may be exercised. Once understandable, realistic, and legally defensible policies are written, the campus community has made certain that the options and expectations established in the policies are effectively communicated. The intent here is not to discourage campus activism, but rather to create an environment in which the basics of access, behavior, and acceptable limits are commonly known by all parties.

The assumption underlying this approach is that clarity, rationality, and fairness provide a basis of trust which is beneficial when confronting even the most difficult problems. This approach also grants a certain moral high ground from which members of the campus community can escape the folly of unreasonable, unthoughtful, and momentary acts. Assuming that this preparatory process has been successful, the following would probably be the approach taken by San Diego State University in responding to the disruption by SOTA.

Having closely monitored the activities of SOTA and anticipated the possibility of disruption, an ad hoc committee of public safety and student affairs personnel would have been convened to assess the situation. The committee's agenda might include a report from those staff who know SOTA members, an analysis of the SOTA organization, identification of their leadership, assessment of their prior behavior on campus, and an effort to predict the type, frequency, and intensity of future SOTA actions. By sharing information and arriving at a mutually agreed upon plan for responding to this organization, we would hope to minimize the likelihood of errors which could complicate a delicate situation.

Also of concern to the committee would be the manner in which campus representatives elect to communicate with the media. Our choice has been to have the university news service be the sole point of contact for the media since they know the field best and maintain ongoing personal relations with media representatives.

For this case study, I assume the forced eviction of SOTA from the president's office was a coordinated effort by both student affairs and public safety with video coverage to record the manner in which the situation was handled. A thorough debriefing of this incident by the committee would begin immediately and press statements discussing the protest would be released to the media.

The most important task at this point is to clearly define the situation. Five issues deserve attention:

- the alleged brutality
- the credibility of the trustees
- divestment
- the shanty town
- the potential of greater involvement by the student government and academic senate.

Next, an atmosphere must be maintained in which each of these issues can be discussed without creating additional chaos. The brutality charge could be addressed in press releases and

through videotapes of the removal of SOTA members. A factual account of the reasons for and conduct of the removal must be made available to all segments of the campus. While the media could assist in presenting the university's position to the community, we would concentrate our efforts in sessions with key constituencies such as the student government, the academic senate, and leaders from the local community.

The issue of the credibility of the trustees is more difficult to address. To clearly define the situation we would need accurate data concerning the trustees, their potential or actual conflicts of interest, and how they arrive at decisions.

The university's position on divestment must be respected while trying to sustain an environment where the moral issues may be discussed. Ideally, student affairs staff must advocate both these positions and do this in a manner which does not escalate violence or unnecessarily restrain demonstrators if the campus is to maintain its "fair, firm, consistent, and direct" approach.

We would also accommodate the shanty town, on our terms. Requirements of time, place, and manner would be enforced; however, there is no reason to deny the event.

The possibility of faculty and student government involvement is, for me, a welcome option. Too often we focus our efforts on the small group confronting us and lose sight of the greater campus community as a force which can, and often does, determine the actual outcomes of our work. I would communicate frequently with these groups to include them in the process of responding to the protest.

Communication must also be maintained with the activists since equal concern and protection must be given to those individuals who are protesting. We must debrief frequently so that opportunities for gaining insight are not lost and the team has a continually clear vision.

Finally, it is important to recognize that regardless of the efforts of student affairs staff and others, it is often the president, the trustees, the local government, and the many outside interests which may actually dictate the outcome of any protest.

## Response #4

Dennis Roberts
Associate Dean of Student Life/Director of Residence Life
Southern Methodist University
Dallas, Texas

Southern Methodist University (SMU) is a private university with a student population of approximately 8,500. The undergraduate curriculum is based on a liberal arts core with key professional programs available. The university is selective in admissions and draws students from throughout the United States and several foreign countries. Approximately 60 percent of the student body receives some form of financial aid but a significant number of the students are from affluent families.

SMU is a relatively young institution, founded by the Methodist Church in 1912. The university maintains a connection to the United Methodist Church, even though a minimal amount of funding is provided to the university for annual operations. The board of trustees of the university is composed of mandated representatives of the Methodist clergy and civic and business leaders. The board is perceived to be conservative and has considerable influence in the day-to-day affairs of the university.

The institutional context described above would require an earlier intervention than the current situation in the case study indicates. Negotiations among the board, faculty, administration, and students are likely to result in conflict if they are attempted only after protests have occurred and arrests have been made. Productive dialogue and/or change can be accomplished most effectively by providing an opportunity for faculty and students to meet with board members during the formative stages of the development of the university's investment policy. Board members could be asked to meet with concerned faculty and student representatives to identify the most critical issues. Board members could then study the issues fully and present recommendations to the full board at some subsequent date. Such an intermediate strategy provides the opportunity for all parties to consider both factual material and the core values represented in a denominational private school.

If the situation as described in the case study could not have been avoided, several assumptions deserve examination while formulating a reactive strategy:

- the call for the resignations of the board members presumes that they are, in fact, compromised by their personal investments or associations
- the construction of a shanty town seems to indicate an attempt to attract media attention to the issues
- the call for emergency meetings by student and faculty groups indicates at least the potential of sympathy for the protesters' cause on the part of these groups.

The first assumption is concerned with the conflict of interest and assumed bias about divestment. Since the report of the comptroller has not yet been given, and since the board had unanimously voted to reconsider divestment from companies which were not adhering to the Sullivan principles, it appears that at least informal contacts with the board would be in order to attempt to anticipate what actions the comptroller's report might produce. Student affairs, other administrative staff, and concerned faculty or students could undertake this effort.

The impact of appeals to media and sympathetic others through the construction of a shanty town cannot be controlled but could, it is hoped, be minimized through careful planning. Efforts to prevent construction have usually served only to inflame and add momentum to the protest. Student affairs staff could, however, intervene in such decisions as where the shanty town will be constructed, what the allowable size will be, how long the town will remain, how protesters can protect themselves from reactionary sentiment, and how to avoid impeding the activities and rights of others. Intervention by student affairs staff should be nonmanipulative and nonjudgmental regarding the cause of the protesters.

The third assumption provides a reminder that it is easy for faculty and student organizations to prematurely anticipate negative outcomes in the decision making of governing bodies. Student affairs staff should join with key faculty and student leaders to discourage confrontations which might elicit negative or inflexible reactions from board members. Confrontive action

may, in fact, cause board members to oppose a point of view that, if presented properly, could have been supported by the board. Campus leaders should be encouraged to consult with board members, the comptroller's office or others who could provide preliminary indications of the sentiment of board members.

All of the actions identified call for an actively involved student affairs staff. For the most part, the actions of these staff members demonstrate belief in reasoned and critical intellectual inquiry. An appeal to this value with all the potential constituents is difficult to reject because this is so fundamental to the mission of higher education. The student affairs staff should intervene with the skills they know best — negotiation, communication, organizational analysis, decision making, and planning. If handled appropriately, the kind of crisis which has been posed will serve to enhance, not detract from, the student affairs profession and the institution.

## Response #5

Rodger Summers
Vice President for Student Affairs
West Chester University
West Chester, Pennsylvania

West Chester University is a public institution comprised of 7,934 undergraduates and 1,234 graduate students. It is the second largest of 14 universities in the Pennsylvania state system of higher education. The university is located in Chester County, a borough with a population of 17,000, approximately 25 miles southwest of Philadelphia.

Higher education has been and should continue to be a training ground for real life and a place where students learn about themselves and others in a democratic society. Another part of the mission of higher education is to train leaders. In carrying out the missions of higher education, institutions face ethical and moral problems such as apartheid and guide students through a process of learning how to make society better for all people.

West Chester University would encourage an environment where students, faculty, and staff challenge issues such as apartheid, using rational arguments and debate, not emotion-charged, disruptive tactics. We would encourage and assist students in organizing seminars, presentations, and discussions on apartheid. We would operate on the premise that everyone interested in this topic should have as much factual information as possible to enable them to understand and speak intelligently about the subject. The trustees would be asked to participate in these seminars to help them understand the problem and to learn more about the subject and its effects on people. The board would also be encouraged to discuss the alleged conflicts of interest among themselves and to reach a conclusion about the status of the three trustees. If the trustees have financial interests in South Africa, their objectivity is questionable and they should be informally encouraged to abstain from a vote on divestment.

An environment which supports informed debate and consideration of controversial issues is crucial but no group has the right to demonstrate in a manner which disrupts the everyday activities of the institution. Once the protesters have been given the parameters within which they can stage their protests, university leaders must maintain an environment which is safe and conducive to academic achievement. Blocking the entrance to the president's office is a disruption which should be handled through the university judicial system, using the court system as a last resort. A shanty town, on the other hand, should be allowed to remain providing it caused no major disruption of university activity. Arrests would be made of those individuals who refused to abide by the regulations for peaceful demonstrations or presented a threat to the safety of people or property.

The rationale for handling the problem in this way is simple. While rules are necessary to govern and protect the members of the community, rules must also be flexible and common sense should always prevail. The construction of a shanty town, although unacceptable to some, would be one way for interested parties to demonstrate their opposition to the trustees' decision. For those arrested, the charges should not be dropped but pursued.

If the disruptions (demonstrations, health hazards caused by the shanty town) persisted, the university must exercise its right to protect both the safety of people on campus and the institution's good name. To allow deplorable conditions to continue threatens the well-being of students, staff, and faculty who want to attend and teach classes and, in an extreme case, may threaten the credibility of the university. Disruptive actions are likely to be condemned by academic leaders as well as many of the student and faculty protesters. As a consequence, most protesters could be persuaded that allowing disruptive activities erodes the integrity of the institution and has the potential of harming students, staff, and the institution.

Student affairs staff should play a helping role in managing student activism. While many of the staff may feel empathy and share some of the same concerns as the protesters, they must try to remain objective while resolving the issue. The staff should help protesters reach reasonable conclusions while keeping in mind that this is a learning process which comes early for some and late for others. A student affairs staff member who becomes caught up in the emotionalism associated with apartheid and allows him/herself to take sides, weakens the credibility of the staff and the role of the student affairs division.

### Response #6

Arthur Sandeen
Vice President for Student Affairs
University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida

The University of Florida is a publicly supported institution of 36,000 students located in north central Florida in a city of 110,000 people. There are 2,200 black students, 1,950 Hispanics, and 1,800 foreign students enrolled. There are 17 colleges and many interdisciplinary institutes, including a highly respected Center for African Studies to which scholars and advanced graduate students have been attracted for many years.

My assumption is that the chief student affairs officer is well informed about the situation described in the case study. If

this is not true, he/she will not be able to work effectively with the various groups and individuals involved. I also assume that the chief student affairs officer has the support of the president and other vice presidents in handling this situation for the institution. Finally, I assume that the chief student affairs officer has an established, first-name relationship with each board member and also knows the students and the faculty in SOTA. The chief student affairs officer's effectiveness in handling this protest situation is dependent upon the knowledge of the chief student affairs officer, the support he/she has from the president, and the quality of the relationships already established with the principal participants.

Now that members of SOTA have been arrested and are calling for additional actions to protest the university's decisions, the institution is in a defensive posture. The chief student affairs officer should ask the president to meet with the vice presidents to determine the approach to be taken. The chief student affairs officer should be responsible for proposing a course of action to this group and, once agreement is reached, the plan should be implemented.

Assuming there is no legal conflict of interest, the board of trustees is not likely to change its decision regarding divestment. If that is the case, the chief student affairs officer should seek to establish an appropriate forum for considering apartheid and divestment. Members of the student affairs staff should contact student government leaders, academic senate leaders, SOTA members, the university police chief, and the university's attorney and arrange a meeting to discuss the concerns of all parties. At this meeting, the chief student affairs officer should indicate that he/she is speaking on behalf of the university. Certain policy positions of the university should be made clear at this meeting. These include: that a shanty town will not be permitted on campus property; that the rights of all members of the academic community to attend class, study, and perform their jobs will be protected.

The chief student affairs officer should have adequate flexibility at the meeting to assure the protesters that certain actions will be forthcoming from the institution. For example, he/she may want to assure them that the three board members will

agree to appear at a public forum to answer questions about the allegations, the chief of police will agree to an independent review of the charges of brutality, and that a trustees' committee on investment and responsibility will be established. The chief student affairs officer should have discussed such options in advance with the president, the board, and others, and must have considerable flexibility and support in performing his/her role.

Attempts at compromise or conciliation may be rejected by the protesters if their strategy is to continue to force arrests and maintain confrontation. Such tactics have become quite common and, if this is the result after reasonable alternatives have been discussed, the institution should uphold the law, make the necessary arrests, and continue negotiations with the appropriate groups.

The actions proposed offer a reasonable opportunity to defuse the matter for a short time while continuing to resolve the dispute. The actions respect both the groups and the individuals involved and maintain the integrity of the institution as well. It is apparent that there has not been much effective communication on this matter and the chief student affairs officer should serve as the leader in improving that communication.

Since the governing board has decided not to divest, its position is clear. The board will probably not want to reconsider its decision, nor will it want to cause serious alienation among students, faculty, staff, and alumni. Institutional leaders must find ways to keep avenues of communication open and establish forums for the continual consideration of the issues. At the same time, the institution must present educationally and socially responsible arguments for its position and be willing to participate in open discussions where its position may be vigorously scrutinized.

All the institution's responses carry messages to its various constituencies. The most important messages that should be given are

- freedom of expression is a right that will be protected
- all individuals will be treated with respect and dignity
- the rights of all members of the academic community must be maintained

- rational, not coercive, means will be used to resolve campus problems.

The chief student affairs officer should be responsible for initiating plans, organizing others, communicating with involved groups, keeping the president and other vice presidents informed, and making decisions on behalf of the institution. This is a very volatile assignment which requires skill, patience, and intelligence. S/he will be subjected to considerable public scrutiny and criticism, a fact which may contribute to rapid job turnover! The chief student affairs officer is, however, the institutional administrator best suited by training and experience to handle these tasks.

## Summary

As the various responses indicate, there are different perspectives available on any situation. The unique student body at Berkshire Community College, for example, makes significant student activism highly unlikely. The religious affiliation and traditions at SMU similarly influence responses to an anti-apartheid protest. The size of the University of Florida or San Diego State introduces several variables which would not be relevant at Middlebury. For all of these institutional differences, however, there are remarkable similarities among the responses. The common themes clearly indicate shared perceptions of appropriate values, roles, and responses for student affairs professionals confronted with student activism.

The common value system most evident in the responses is the unfailing support for an academic environment that encourages open inquiry, discussion of divergent views and reasoned consideration of all available information. At the same time, there is also recognition of a potential conflict between an individual's right to express his or her views and the obligation of the institution to protect the rights of all to engage in the educational enterprise without disruption. Finding the proper balance between these conflicting rights may be the most difficult task facing student affairs staff, especially since no action is likely to completely satisfy all opposing parties.

A shared view of appropriate roles for student affairs staff is also apparent in the case study responses. Every author viewed student affairs professionals as the key players in establishing and maintaining open communication among the protesters, administration, and other constituencies, both on and off campus. Student affairs staff are often placed in the role of mediators during a protest, a position which further emphasizes the role of student affairs in maintaining clear communication among all groups. The roles of communicator and mediator cannot be performed effectively if student affairs staff have not already established credible, positive relations with students, staff, and others prior to an incident of activism. As several authors indicated, the personal relationships, trust, and reputation for fairness we establish through our everyday activities will be crucial during a protest. Student affairs staff cannot provide the leadership needed to resolve a major protest if that leadership is not apparent to students, faculty, and administrators during less controversial times.

The common responses to student activism are consistent with the shared values and roles already noted. Teach-ins, open forums, colloquia, and other educational programs are believed to be essential in defusing a crisis situation, while also expanding the knowledge and understanding of everyone involved. Redirecting a conflict into an educational experience is the ultimate goal for every author. From that perspective, increased involvement during a protest by other groups, such as the student association or academic senate, is a benefit rather than a complication. The student affairs staff may have difficulty perceiving an expanding crisis as something positive but the learning opportunities increase as more people on campus become involved in discussing the issues.

The less attractive, but equally essential, response to activism is the protection of the institution's constituencies, activities, and property. Freedom from disruption of classes and normal activities and safety of persons and property are crucial considerations recognized by every respondent. Arrests, campus judicial proceedings, and prohibition of disruptive activities may be necessary to protect the integrity and values of the institution. Recognition of the possible need for such responses is

one of the most difficult lessons new student affairs professionals must learn in coping effectively with student activism.

No hypothetical case study exercise can capture all the intricacies of effective responses to student activism. As the unique perspectives and shared visions of the authors indicate, there is no "right" answer. Each professional on each campus will have to determine the responses to activism which are appropriate for the specific situation facing him/her. It is hoped that the shared values, roles, and responses described by six experienced professionals will assist in that decision-making process.

# Chapter 8

# The Legacy of Activism: Looking Ahead with Student Affairs

*Robert H. Shaffer*

The student activism of the 1960s and subsequent years effected significant changes in the relationship between students and their universities and in the role of student affairs staff. The process was not an isolated event in the history of American higher education, but was the logical development of events in society. These events were exacerbated by World War II and its aftermath, the notion that nearly every citizen should have access to postsecondary education, the extension of constitutional protections to students, and the legal definition of adulthood at 18 years of age or older.

Student affairs work was founded on the assumption that colleges must maintain authority over their students. The college had not only the right, but also an educational obligation to take responsibility for the moral and personal development of its students. As the relationships between institutions and their students changed, student affairs staff changed traditional policies and procedures to maintain an emphasis on individual de-

velopment and on the individual's responsibility for his/her own development.

Many students appreciated having a voice in governing the college in addition to greater control of their own lives. However, some students, encouraged by their victories over what they perceived to be authoritarian institutions, resisted attempts by their colleges to exert an educational influence over students' private lives. These students preferred to fight what most student affairs personnel viewed as battles over issues that had already been resolved. They continued an adversarial approach to the institution's efforts. For example, on many campuses candidates for student government positions felt they had to oppose the administration, trustees, and other persons in authority to have credibility with the student body.

Other factors contributed to this period of change and instability. During the past two decades many faculty members had ignored developments in student life because they were facing greater pressures for research, publication, and increased effectiveness in classroom teaching. Actual or predicted enrollment declines threatened the traditional routes to promotion and tenure. Budget stringencies resulted in increased competition for the educational dollar. Many young faculty members during this same period were products of the activism of the 1960s and carried with them their adversarial and antagonistic views of institutional authority and its administration.

All these developments forced closer scrutiny of academic budgets and all support services, including expenditures for business affairs, physical plant, administration, and student affairs. "User fees" were proposed as the answer to financing in many instances. It became more difficult to defend the educational, developmental, and institutional value of many traditional programs and services. A philosophical dilemma was posed by the traditional custodial, parental, and individually oriented approach being challenged by the contractual, consumer-oriented business approach often advocated by some student leaders, faculty, and even cost-conscious administrators. The dilemma was not easily resolved by student affairs leaders whose actions were grounded in traditional views.

Thus, one legacy of student activism was that student affairs on many campuses was caught in the middle of an unresolved conflict. On one side were students who saw themselves as independent adults, protected by the Constitution and free from traditional institutional control. On the other side were parents, alumni, and some faculty and administrators who believed that more supervision and control were needed to achieve the institution's educational goals.

One concern survived changes in the profession and the evaluation of the greater society. That concern was the overriding commitment to individual students and their development. Definitions, terminology, and theories have changed or have just been reworded, but the deep interest and concern for students has remained constant. There is nothing in the heritage of activism, predictions about the future, or discussion of current professional issues which indicates a change from that fundamental concern.

On many campuses, student affairs personnel are perceived as being eminently successful, effective, and valuable. From this perspective some would say, "If it's not broke, don't fix it!" Yet, the slide rule was not broken when hand-held calculators and then computers were introduced. Hotels were not broken, but a huge motel industry developed outside the hotel industry. Individually owned retail grocery stores were the heart of many communities, but chain stores put them out of business. They were not broken but soon were no longer relevant. In the same vein, in light of the trends and forces pushing them to the forefront of attention in American life, can it be said with confidence that the image and services of deans of students and their staffs are not broken? With this background in mind, student affairs professionals must face several challenges that have been shaped by these lessons of the past.

▶ Student affairs must change its image from a support service in higher education to that of an assertive, educational force.

Over 15 years ago, Harold Hodgkinson (1969) presented a paper, "How Deans of Students are Seen by Others — And Why." His data were part of a larger study involving over 900 interviews with faculty, administrators, department chairs, and

students. The data were gathered during a period of campus activism. In his study, business managers and deans of students were found to have one thing in common: they were seen by both faculty and students as service providers, not connected with the primary mission of the college or university. The difference in perception was that the business managers were seen as powerful because they had direct contact with the board of trustees. As Hodgkinson put it, the dean of students was seen differently, with less fear and more sneer.

Hodgkinson (1969) also addressed the potential for conflicts with faculty. Faculty who focus on teaching and are concerned for the development of the individual student are likely to resent the dean of student's position. On campuses of large research universities, many faculty members question the importance of any office concerned with individual student development, particularly at times of budget crises.

The NASPA study conducted by Dutton, Appleton, and Birch (1970), *The Assumptions and Beliefs of Presidents, Deans, Student Body Presidents, and Editors of Campus Newspapers*, perpetuated the confusion regarding the dean's role. A striking finding was the frequency with which there were major differences in how each thought the dean perceived his or her role and how the deans themselves perceived their roles.

The perceptions and expectations of student affairs professionals held by various publics are of importance to the effectiveness of student affairs work. It is commonplace that in their personal and organizational behavior individuals endeavor to live up to perceived expectations and roles. For employment security, individuals obviously need to know the expectations of their superiors. There are valid techniques available to determine the image of student affairs professionals on any campus. It is personally and professionally negligent of student affairs professionals not to use assessment techniques and related expertise currently available.

Professional and personal insecurity and ambiguity about the roles and status of student affairs on a campus will continue as long as its staff members fail to understand clearly the current perceptions of their work, expectations of them held by various publics, what the staff and their supervisors feel they should be

in any given situation, and steps they should be taking to change or strengthen the role and scope of student affairs. These steps are fundamental to effectiveness in interpreting the goals, methods, and problems of student affairs to faculty colleagues, top administrators, trustees, student leaders, their constituents and, for that matter, to all relevant publics. Most businesses do this all the time. It is referred to as positioning in the market. Can student affairs be so complacent, incompetent, and insecure that it should not do the same?

Student affairs as a field faces the challenging and difficult task in many cases of changing the attitudes of an entire community. If it does not, it will continue to be just another expensive support service in higher education. If student affairs is seen decades hence as having played a significant role in the response of higher education to the problems of the '80s and '90s, it will have been because it changed its image from a custodial support service to one of a positive educational force. Student affairs will have changed from being perceived as primarily concerned with drinking, sex, noise in housing units, inhibiting campus high jinks, and keeping student protest orderly, as important and necessary as these functions are, to an aggressive and assertive role in designing and establishing new institutional postures toward, and relationships with, the heterogeneous student bodies of the present day. It must do this while meeting the demands of present-day programs, activities, and services. In short, student affairs as a field must change its image while still doing business effectively.

▶ Student affairs must define a truly new relationship between the college and its students.

This relationship must be one which not only recognizes students' adult status, but also one which demands the fulfillment of responsibilities that go with that status. Simultaneously, the nature of this relationship must be interpreted effectively to all segments of the campus community, including faculty colleagues, parents, other administrators, trustees, and the public at large.

Since 1972, 18-year-old majority has been a legal fact. The subject has been discussed at most NASPA and ACPA confer-

ences since the act was passed. It was an idea whose time had obviously come. Yet many policies and procedures in student affairs, as well as those of institutions as a whole, have permitted the perception of a difference to exist between the traditional-age college student and the "adult" or older student. The difference certainly exists in the general public's eyes. Higher education and student affairs have permitted adulthood to be defined as merely a matter of age and not as behavior. Institutions adjusted many of their rules, search of records, disciplinary procedures, search and seizure policies, financial billing and contracts, to name a few, to accommodate the legal majority forced upon them by effectively interpreting and establishing the expectations and relationships of motivated adult behavior in an adult environment. All too often, in spirit if not in actual performance, student affairs personnel have grudgingly and often belatedly adapted their traditional, parentally oriented policies and procedures instead of focusing upon the challenges of interpreting to the new adults what behaviors and responsibilities go with that status on a campus.

In short, many policies and procedures have perpetuated aspects of *in loco parentis* and a custodial relationship while at the same time wrestling with many of the problems and dilemmas caused by a public's nearly schizophrenic view of 18-year-old adults as college kids. As one parent commented to a dean about a student who had very maturely admitted himself to a hospital for an appendectomy without telling either the college or his parent, "The trouble is he thinks he is an adult!"

Further examples of this schizophrenic view are abundant. Some institutions still recommend that tuition, board, and room checks be made out to them so that the individual student will not spend the money before paying the university. Student affairs staff have been placed in a position of protecting unwilling adults from seeing pornographic movies while they go to court for the right of their students to do so. Group advisors have been held liable, legally sometimes as well as socially, for behaviors of legal adults in some group activities. In all too many cases, parents have been assured that the college has policies and staff to keep their sons and daughters from going astray; yet the parents often provide the freedom, money, and implicit permission for their children to do so.

Many difficulties and dilemmas in establishing priorities of work and relationships with students, and implementing theory in the student life area stem from our efforts to force essentially parental procedures and policies to conform to the legalistic, potentially adversarial situation inherited from the activist era. For example, it is standard practice and certainly professionally prudent to refer copy for the student handbook to legal counsel for review. Further, college representatives have been reluctant to take aggressive, vocal steps to interpret the meaning of adult status to the public. As a result, colleges experience bizarre jury awards, are the targets of critical comment by public figures about misbehavior, and are expected to implement certain rules and policies while at the same time they are criticized and ridiculed for doing so.

In short, student affairs and higher education face an impossible situation under present conditions and trends. They must take visible, aggressive steps to lead not only their institutions but also the public in resolving this contradictory, self-defeating dilemma. Many of the reports on achieving excellence in higher education recommend higher standards on campus and more control of campus life. Traditionally, student affairs staff would applaud and support these efforts. Many reports imply a simple return to former control and supervision. A careful analysis, however, reveals that higher education must find new relationships, establish new policies, and transmit new messages of expectation of behavior.

▶ Student affairs professionals should motivate students to the highest personal and academic achievement possible.

There is a lack of motivation and challenge on most campuses. This void needs to be filled with a strong force and stimulation to enable individuals to achieve to their potential in all their experiences on campus. As experts in human development and behavior concerned with a broad campus focus upon individual development, student affairs personnel have great influence on the campus climate. They exert this influence not only through its programs and activities but also through serving as role models on the campus. Thus, they represent a ready-made force to bring about reform in this neglected area. Practically all the reports of the demands for excellence in higher education merely

reflect society's frustration with its own failure to provide in its young people the desire for excellence. The alleged lag in competitiveness and declining productivity of U.S. enterprise has been blamed upon this lack of motivation in young people, and the schools and colleges are often cited as scapegoats.

By taking a new view of students and their relationship to their institutions of higher education, student affairs specifically and colleges generally can be relieved of much of the parental oversight baggage inhibiting their work. By setting appropriate priorities, they should be freed to confront, challenge, prod, and stimulate their students to be truly productive, contributing adults and to regard their continuing self-development as an important goal.

Currently the names of such coaches as Everett Dean, Bob Knight, Joe Paterno, Dean Smith, and John Wooden evoke a message of demanding excellence and striving to achieve to one's potential. Why should student affairs and the faculty leave excellence to the coaches? Why should the college environment echo the superficiality of society at large by rewarding athletic achievement to the detriment of a coherent emphasis upon students achieving their potential in broad areas of individual development? A major challenge to student affairs, as well as the college as a whole, is to let the message be from Day One on the campus, "We are glad you chose to come here; we will help you in every way possible to achieve to your highest potential. But we will not tolerate or accept anything less!" The student affairs program, in all its aspects, must be the voice for that emphasis!

The message and urge for less comes from many sources not only in college life but also throughout society. From routine, uninspired teaching and superficial social standing to the false glamour of the big shot, the illusion of power and questionable role models of the highly rewarded, glamorous stars all combine to send a message society has not counteracted. Truly has it been said, "The greatest reform needed for excellence in higher education is to eliminate the college campus as a place where it is comfortable not only to be mediocre but also to aspire to it." Effective interpretation of an expectancy of excellence would answer many of the legalistic and philosophical dilemmas which plague us. For example, a campus can be against X-

rated movies in housing units, not because they may or may not be illegal but because unless they are a part of a planned educational experience—they just do not fit into the environment that individuals seeking excellence want. Certain behaviors are out of place in a learning environment dedicated to stretching individuals to their potential.

▶ Student affairs professionals must find an effective response to the information society.

It has arrived, and with it an openness that cannot be contained. Many student affairs administrators have continued procedures and policies apparently based upon a controlled campus, a limited environment, and learning situations restricted to the campus and even classrooms. Televisions, cassettes, computers, and travel have turned the campus into a total world. This deluge of information and sensations has overloaded the capacities of our students as well as staff. As a result, the changed world is ignored and many campuses proceed as traditionally dictated. Colleges cannot maintain a cloistered campus even if they want to. Yet there are elements in society who expect them to do so.

Activism is often a response to information. Yet some treat it as an aberration of traditional rebellion of the young against the establishment, or even as a form of mental illness. What thinking person can look at the world today and not be an activist? Henderson (1986), in *The Futurist*, pointed out that,

> Information itself does not enlighten. We cannot clearly determine which is misinformation, disinformation, or propaganda in this media-dominated environment. Focusing on mere information has led to an overload of ever less meaningful billions of bits of fragmented raw data, rather than the search for meaningful new patterns of knowledge (p. 56).

There may be more truth than humor in the cartoon comment of two young students with one saying to the other, "Why do we have to learn the answer? Why don't we just learn the toll-free numbers?" (*Phi Delta Kappan*, 1986).

Information overload causes individuals to focus on just one or two issues and exclude consideration, concern, and interest in other equally relevant and perhaps more serious concerns. Information overload causes people to seek simplistic answers to complex problems. Whether the answer seems to be a retreat

to a bucolic setting or to pass a law, complex problems will not just disappear. President Hanna Gray (1986) of the University of Chicago placed high on a list of goals for the decades ahead to provide students with a "central capacity to sort out the information by which they're going to be overwhelmed."

Kalsbeek (1983) has urged student affairs personnel to become experts in information management as an intentional, concerted function, and to use it to lead a campus-wide synergy for student development. He emphasized that student affairs professionals can be in a unique position to reach a variety of campus constituencies. They can achieve this by appropriately relaying information and providing enhanced opportunities for staff development.

▶ Student affairs professionals should create opportunities for making a significant educational impact on students' cultural and aesthetic development.

Other than to say appreciation of cultural and aesthetic works and activities is good and important, student affairs on most campuses has not projected an image of being vitally concerned with promoting the arts. It has not offered vigorous support to individual development in areas of cultural enrichment.

Years ago, Arnold Toynbee (1947) in *A Study of History* described the trend to promiscuity, as he referred to it, which becomes a substitute for that sense of style arising with the growth of civilization. He stated that "as a society disintegrates, every aspect of the society's social life will be marked by the same mood. He discusses this phenomenon as he sees it applying to manners and customs, religion, literature, language, and art. He particularly comments upon the degeneration from vulgarity into barbarism. One has only to look at the musical scene to see popular musical groups stretching down to the lowest possible denominators as an example of this phenomenon at work. In less visible, but nonetheless pervasive ways, this phenomenon can be seen at work on campus standards, not only of dress and behavior but also of achievement in class, the conduct of student activities, and the behavior of social groups.

Student affairs has within its powers and outreach the opportunities, skills, and even the concern to reverse the effect of

this force. Some writers feel that strengthening this aspect of human development and culture is civilization's hope of preventing untamed technology from dominating people's lives until they become little more than robots. Colleges and universities in the next few decades can revitalize themselves as civilizing forces in present-day society if they will but take the lead. Society permits false interpretation of democracy to let all aspects of life be established by the lowest, narrowest, and most transient in tastes, behavior, and values. The challenge is so great that colleges need to muster the entire campus in response.

Life on most campuses does not encourage or reward participation or interest in debate, drama, art, music, and literary discussions. Individuals with a drive to learn and understand other cultures are all too often regarded as queer or unusual. As experts in human development and leaders of the extra-curriculum, is it too much to expect effective leadership from student affairs in restructuring campus life to include visible and conspicuous efforts to enhance this essential element of development in a civilized society? Here again is a golden opportunity to involve faculty and other elements of the campus often not included in general student development activities and programs.

▶ Colleges and universities, as a whole, and student affairs, specifically, should strengthen and revitalize the moral and values aspects of higher education.

One of the major complaints of student activists has been, and is, that colleges do not stand for anything. It is said they are value neutral. Yet most reports of studies for improving the quality of higher education include a revitalization of and reemphasis upon its moral and values aspects as crucial to the future of society.

Several speakers at the 350th anniversary of Harvard University focused on this subject. Prince Charles of Great Britain used it for the theme of his address. He commented (1986), "While we have been right to demand the kind of technical education relevant to the needs of the 20th century, it would appear that we may have forgotten that when all is said and done a good person, as the Greeks would say, is a nobler work than a good

technologist. . . " He continued, "We should never lose sight of the fact that to avert disaster we have not only to teach men to make things, but also to produce people who have complete moral control over the things they make. Never has this been more essential and urgent than at this moment in man's development."

President Frank Rhodes (1986) of Cornell University, also speaking at Harvard, phrased the situation this way:

> We must strive to impart not just facts, but encouragement and support for students to develop some philosophy of life; not just credentials, but commitment to large and noble goals; not just skill, but high ideals of personal and professional service. We must strive, in each of our individual institutions of higher learning, to give 'real and sustained attention to the intellectual and moral well-being' of our student, while preserving the distinctiveness, the openness, the institutional and personal autonomy that have contributed so substantively to higher education's growth and achievements in America during these past 350 years.

Of course, there are questions of whose values, what values, and how to inculcate them most effectively. However, few people can question the value of individual human worth, equality of opportunity and civil liberties for all, rationality as a means of resolving differences, openness in the conduct of our affairs and the importance of institutional and personal integrity. The ambiguity of standards; the challenge to the legitimacy of traditional values and ideals; and the uncertainty posed by current economic, political, and social forces are questions which cannot be met by neutrality or indecision.

As a field, student affairs is still being viewed suspiciously at best, and as repressive at worst regarding student involvement in protest and demonstration of views. Many institutions of higher education have flunked the tests administered to them by activists, from both the right and the left, in recent months. As Philip Altbach (1985) wrote, "There is a moral as well as political element in student protest. The activists find it difficult to believe that any right-thinking person could oppose their cause."

On many campuses, student affairs professionals are conspicuous by their absence in crucial debates on issues, in encouraging vigorous expression of opinion, and in challenging practices and situations clearly in conflict with verbalized values.

They are often viewed as establishing and enforcing policies, with greater weight given to alleged public opinion or the status quo rather than values and issues involved.

Despite the progress and contributions campuses have made in emphasizing questions of ethics, morals, and values, who in higher education can be satisfied? In the next decades, student affairs has an opportunity to lead colleges and universities in being more effective. The field must seize the opportunity if it is to maintain the status and respect usually accorded to it for work in these areas. Here again is a valuable opportunity to involve faculty, fellow administrators, and key students in revitalizing and further developing a campus-wide, highly visible institutional program for a vigorous examination of issues and controversies involving values and ethics on campus as well as off.

NASPA's monograph, *Promoting Values Development in College Students* edited by Jon Dalton (1985), suggests beginning steps for revitalizing programs in these areas. Each student affairs staff must reexamine policies, procedures, and activities for their value implication. Many institutions, even today, continue postures and implement policies reminiscent of ineffective and nonproductive responses of the 1960s. Strong educational stands and actions must be taken, not only in the political and social action areas, but also regarding such aberrations as gang rapes, voyeurism, and just plain boorish conduct, not to mention incidents involving business and government.

▶ Student affairs professionals should develop more effective skills and attitudes for conflict resolution.

Currently, conflict is an area often overlooked by programs and students preparing for careers in student affairs. Yet conflict is a fact of contemporary life and will continue even more so in the years ahead. Failure of strong leadership on college campuses to teach individuals to productively engage in conflict means that they are not preparing their students for reality.

Conflicts over values, differences in priorities for action, controversies over facts in this information age, misunderstandings regarding policies affecting complex interdependent organizations, and tensions over competing interests are all criti-

cal issues faced by leaders and citizens, now and for the rest of their lives. Given the complex nature of the new problems facing not only higher education but also the nation and world, there are no ready solutions. There are many valid differences which must be expressed effectively and forcefully if the best resolution to the problems facing the nation and the world are to be solved.

The increasing use of physical violence to settle personal differences and the use, or threat, of war to settle national differences strikingly reveal the lack of respect for rationality as a means of resolving differences. The growth of arbitration is a desirable development. However, the need to develop skills in teaching and leading individuals to use rationality and nonviolent means for resolving differences is a major opportunity for student affairs on most campuses and in higher education nationally.

There is a wave of student activism splashing around the world. Russia, China, Korea, the Philippines, and the Middle East, as well as countries in the Western World have had major student protests and demonstrations in the 1980s. Many relate to student access and quality of higher education. Others relate to governmental policies and philosophy. The point is, if those closest to students and their activities in higher education fail to "heed and listen," to use Morris Keeton's words, or to take the leadership in responding productively to students' protests, student affairs will be negligent in fulfilling its responsibilities to higher education.

Conflict resolution is another important area for student affairs staff development. It is a made-to-order area of collaboration with appropriate faculty members working with student leaders and others in the university community. The void and need are there! It just remains for student affairs to develop the skills and take the leadership in this area.

In sum, student affairs has inherited several challenges from the activists of recent decades. Many of the issues involved were present but dormant in a changing society. The activists brought these issues to the forefront of attention. Regardless of cause and effect, or even value judgments regarding the wisdom of many of the responses made to the issues raised by

them, society and its institutions have changed. These changes have made it impossible for traditional policies and programs to be as effective or even as acceptable as they once were.

Student affairs, as the subsystem most immediately involved, must take several positive steps if it is to continue as a significant, educational aspect of higher education. For one, it must change its image as a custodial support service in higher education. By visibly and aggressively concerning itself with basic problems, its value as a cohesive influence on campus can be demonstrated and more significant educational goals be met. Some of these problems are:

- redefining the adult students' (18 years and older) relationships to their colleges and universities
- becoming recognized experts in motivating individuals to the achievement of their potentials
- emphasizing the importance of cultural and aesthetic development as essential aspects of individual growth
- leading the campus community in responding effectively to the information society
- verbalizing the importance of and focusing campus concern on moral and values development
- organizing campus-wide concern for the skills, knowledge, and attitudes essential for effective, productive conflict resolution.

Each of these areas represents valuable opportunities to work with and through the faculty for campus-wide approaches, further revitalizing student affairs and its emphasis upon individual development as a significant aspect of higher education.

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# Chapter 9

# Student Affairs and Campus Dissent: Final Thoughts and Future Challenges

*Keith M. Miser*

This monograph has presented a brief overview of campus dissent in the past, creating a perspective for understanding the values, dynamics, and strategies needed to work effectively with dissent in the future. The juxtaposition of the past with the present or the future will not be perfect. The issues today are not the same, colleges and universities have changed markedly; America is not the same, either politically or economically; and students' personal concerns and values are unique to today's youth culture. Even with these differences, however, the dynamics that are present in today's society and some of the conditions that fostered campus dissent in the past are clearly part of the current national agenda.

The issues of poverty, war, urban decay, institutional insensitivity, racism, and abused political power will collide with the hope, idealism, and optimism of youth to generate an environment for activism. At these times, dissent will again visit American campuses as those special institutions in society that value

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the exchange of ideas, encourage political discourse, and foster free speech and dialogue.

Against this fabric of history, several themes have been dominant throughout this monograph as campus dissent has been considered. The following is a brief discussion of those themes.

▶ Campus dissent tends to be cyclic in nature.

Several authors suggested that American colleges and universities go through cycles of student unrest. It seems that in a period of low activism, colleges and universities and society in general set the conditions or create the issues that will be addressed by the next generation of dissenting students.

Since the Vietnam War, on some campuses policies have been developed that have rescinded some of the freedoms fought for by the dissenters of the 1960s. These institutions are setting the agenda for the next period of activism. From a national perspective, America has become politically more conservative, more materialistic, and has set military advancement as a high priority. This national shift will also be part of the agenda as student activism is revisited in the future.

▶ Campus dissent has significantly changed the relationship between institutions and students.

Throughout American history, dissent on political and social issues has been an important freedom protected by the U.S. Constitution. The focus of a great deal of dissent has taken place on American campuses.

During the most recent period of heightened dissent in the late 1960s and early 1970s, much activism focused on the role of colleges in regulating individual lives of students. Governance systems were attacked as students demanded voices in decision making and policy development. Dissenting students turned to the courts to guarantee freedoms on campus that were already recognized beyond the limits of the campus.

The freedoms, such as right to assemble, to speak freely, to publish school newspapers free of censorship, and to be granted due process in judicial proceedings, were reaffirmed by the courts to be guaranteed rights of college students. These court decisions significantly changed the legal relationship between

students and their colleges and universities as the long standing principle of *in loco parentis* was set aside by legal precedent. Students were to be viewed as adult citizens and were afforded all of the rights and responsibilities of this status.

▶ As a result of campus dissent, student affairs changed as a profession.

Until campus dissent on the Vietnam era, one of the major responsibilities of student affairs professionals was to enforce an entire array of institutional policies regulating student life that were based on *in loco parentis*. Deans of men and women were expected to develop and enforce policies that reflected the moral values of the institution. A great deal of time was spent on discipline and behavioral control.

As a result of the new legal relationship between students and institution, there was a rapid revision of campus student life policies and procedures. Students were assured new freedoms to make decisions about their own lives. This shift in institutional role away from regulating student behavior caused immediate and sometimes dramatic changes in student affairs. The profession moved rapidly from a role of being concerned primarily with control of behavior and institutional enforcement of moral values to a profession primarily concerned with support services, the development of students, and the enhancement of the learning environment.

▶ Understanding the college environment is necessary to understanding campus dissent.

While studying campus dissent of the past and in anticipating dissent in the future, it is important to remember that each institution is unique. Campus culture, traditions, values, history, and physical plant play a major role in the approach each college or university takes to address campus activism. The ecology of the campus must be studied, considered, and understood to communicate with and be responsive to dissenting students.

In addition to assessing the environment, the student affairs professional must be sensitive to student subcultures which are unique to each campus. The values held by students on each campus have a great influence on campus dissent.

Out of this understanding, special approaches, policies, and strategies unique to each campus will be effective. It is important to remember that an approach that is effective on a large campus may not work on a small one, and that a good policy at a public institution may not be acceptable at a private school, and that a communication strategy at a New England college may fail in the South.

▶ Good communication and leadership are the keys to success in working effectively with campus dissent.

During a period of campus dissent, student affairs professionals must provide leadership to the entire campus community. During past periods of dissent, this leadership role was not always assumed by student affairs staff and, in turn, they often lost the respect of their faculty colleagues, other administrative personnel, and dissenting students.

Effective decisions and actions must be rooted in tradition, legal precedent, and a deep understanding of student development. Systems must be developed and maintained to foster understanding and clear communication among members of the campus community.

Long before the stress of campus dissent, student affairs leaders should have built a strong communication network with student leaders and faculty colleagues. This network should be built on a base of respect and a genuine concern for the welfare of students. As campus agitations occur, every effort should be made to resolve the difficulty through communication and conflict resolution strategies. This work with students is necessary to avoid confrontations and to assure students that they can speak out on issues.

▶ A campus should develop a plan and should have a good policy on freedom of expression and dissent in preparation for campus unrest.

Before a campus is embroiled in protest, it is important that planning be completed. This monograph suggests that a self-study or an institutional assessment should be done to identify those unique campus factors that would affect the direction and intensity of student unrest. From this early work, policies can be

created, strategies developed, and communication relationships established well in advance of dissent.

As another part of planning, lines of authority and responsibility must be clarified. Methods must also be discussed to create opportunities for student affairs staff to resolve conflicts before problems and confrontations occur. If differences cannot be resolved which allow legal dissent to take place, the dissent may deteriorate into unlawful disruption.

If disruptions occur, a policy must be in place which clearly defines the line between legal dissent and unlawful disruption. The policy must also define lines of administrative responsibility and methods of adjudication if the policy is broken. The policy should contain potential sanctions for disruption.

In general, plans must be made to protect the rights of students and to define their responsibilities as adult members of the campus community.

▶ Participation in campus dissent can have an impact on the personal, moral, and ethical development of students.

From a student development perspective, participation in campus dissent and activism can play a positive role in the maturation process of students. Much research suggests that activism and protest has its roots in the psychological development of students. Dissenting students have been described as alienated or rebellious against traditional societal values.

For many dissenting students, the experience provides an opportunity for them to clarify values, develop a sense of purpose, and help them define their own moral and ethical principles. Participating in a dissenting group also gives students the opportunity to become part of a special subculture with others possessing mutual values, like attitudes and common goals. Membership in these dissent groups provides a great deal of interpersonal support for scores of students.

Through participation in dissent, students learn about their legal rights, the governance processes of complex institutions, and their responsibilities as citizens on campus. The educational agenda also includes learning about the particular issues being protested. By experiencing this, many students report they have learned more and developed to a greater extent than

through participating in any other collegiate activity in their college careers.

### Strategies to Consider

A series of strategies has emerged from the seven themes found throughout this monograph that may be considered as colleges and universities address student unrest and campus dissent. Miser (1986) identified the student affairs strategies that are essential to effectively lead an institution through the issues involving dissent. These strategies are as follows:

- In anticipation of student unrest in the next few years, each campus should renew or create a clear policy on dissent and disruption. This policy should be designed to foster communication and freedom of speech, but also to define the line between dissent and disruption. Clear lines of staff accountability and responsibility should also be addressed in the policy.
- The student affairs staff, under the leadership of the chief student affairs officer, should prepare to assume campus leadership roles during dissent. This staff should be developed to have the expertise and skills required to manage the dissent to meet the needs of the activists and also the needs of the other members of the campus community.
- The chief student affairs officer should communicate often with the president and other senior officers as the dissent advances. The officer will be seen as an expert leader and consultant playing a valuable role in institutional decision making relative to the protest.
- If there is any anticipation of dissent in an upcoming semester, the student affairs staff should participate in a comprehensive staff development program designed to prepare them to manage dissent. Care should be given to teach educational philosophy and to have each professional understand institutional policy and the philosophical, educational, and legal underpinnings of the policies. Strategies and potential action steps should be discussed and staff roles should be clearly defined. Senior student affairs staff who were involved with the issues and dissent of the '60s should work with junior staff as consultants.
- Student affairs leadership should work closely with the campus police to identify areas of responsibility should the policy be needed. Student affairs staff can also be effective resource consultants for campus security staff on topics of student dissent and disruption, values, attitudes, and life styles.
- All student affairs staff should understand the issues being addressed in the particular dissent. Each staff member should be very knowledgeable and be able to discuss the issues with any student or faculty member as an educator and well-informed member of the campus community.

- In anticipation of student unrest, student affairs professionals must keep formal and informal channels of communication open with faculty and student leaders. During activism, traditional governance systems will probably be stressed, and occasionally manipulated and used by dissenting groups. The governance mechanism must be respected and supported by student affairs staff.
- Student affairs staff must understand the educational and legal philosophy behind the institutional decisions and actions taken at the time of dissent. This philosophical understanding will be used constantly by staff as they articulate institutional positions and decisions.
- Under the educational leadership of senior student affairs officers, student affairs staff should respect the dissonant students as sincere individuals who believe strongly in a cause. During the stressful period of unrest, there is a tendency for staff to view students as "the enemy." Student affairs professionals must continually be reminded of their role as responsive educators whose role merits treating students with respect.
- Above all, the chief student affairs officer must be a strong, confident leader. In the 1960s, student affairs was often seen as weak and only reactive in many situations. In many instances, the entire campus ignored student affairs staff because of their ineffectiveness and lack of philosophical, educational, and political leadership. At times, they were not respected by faculty, senior administrators, students, or dissenters. Through preparation and training, each staff member can play a leadership role.

## Conclusion

There is increasing evidence that campus dissent will occur in the next decade. Issues likely to be high on the agenda are racial conflict in American cities, campus racism, high unemployment in minority groups, and lack of racial diversity on specific campuses. Dissent will develop over the rights and treatment of gay, lesbian, and bisexual members of the campus community. Fear of AIDS and the treatment of students with AIDS could be potential issues. At some colleges, dissent will focus on the treatment of women through protest over pornography, women's rights, hiring procedures, sexual harassment, and sexual assault.

International issues of war and peace will trigger dissent in many places. Protest may focus on the presence and role of U.S. military forces in Central America or the Persian Gulf. Dissent concerning this theme may target the presence of ROTC on campus, defensive research contracts, or CIA and armed forces re-

cruiting on campus. In the next few years, the armed forces may pose manpower shortages and the potential reinstatement of the draft may cause dissent. Some predict that economic instability will initiate dissent. Within some institutions, dissent may be turned inward on administrative decisions such as tenure and promotions for popular faculty members. Protesters may demand curricular reform, more student rights, or less administrative control over their lives. The rising cost of tuition or lack of adequate financial aid may crystallize dissent, particularly among economically disadvantaged groups.

All these issues have the potential to be the basis for campus dissent. Whatever the issue, wherever the campus, and whoever the leaders, student affairs will play a major role. With a great deal of thought, some careful preparation, a strong educational philosophy, good communication and some luck, student affairs leaders can and will play an active role in working effectively with dissenting students and leading their institutions through some predictably difficult periods ahead.

## Reference

Miser, K.M. (1986). Student unrest in the 1980s: Challenges and implications for student affairs. *Journal of the Indiana University Student Personnel Association,* 23-30.

# Appendix

# Policies on Campus Dissent

### The University of Vermont's Policy Statement on Freedom of Expression and Dissent

> The University of Vermont is a place to learn and to teach. It is not a cloister—it does not live in a vacuum. It is both in the world and of the world. Its mission is to educate people for leadership in society.—Board of Trustees, May 1969

As the above quotation suggests, the university functions within the rules governing a larger society. It was created by that society for a special purpose: the facilitation of learning and teaching.

It follows that the university's regulations must conform with the law as well as take into account the particular role of educational institutions.

Fundamental to our entire philosophy is our firm belief that rights guaranteed by the First and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States must be protected on the campus as elsewhere and that local, state, and federal laws must prevail on campus. Becoming a member of the university community in no way abrogates or compromises the rights which the Constitution of the United States guarantees to all persons. This principle applies to the adjudication of violations of campus policies as well as other areas. Within the university setting as within society at large, the exercise of one's rights must be tempered by recognition of the rights of others. For example, the exercise of free speech may unreasonably infringe upon the right to learn. It should not be surprising that conflict may arise

between parties engaged in activities which are individually lawful, for a fundamental function of social organization is the reconciliation of competing interests.

Within the university setting more than any other, the appropriate means for conflict resolution is rational discourse. The processes fundamental to the existence of the university cannot be abandoned under stress, especially since they represent the most effective means for progress. Further, the criteria employed to seek lawful accommodation of various interests must grant special attention to the central mission of the university: learning and teaching.

The laws of society and the mission of the university establish the framework within which disagreement, dissent, demonstration, and advocacy may, indeed must, occur. For mankind to progress, the educational process must be dynamic even if fraught with controversy, for change cannot take place until the first question is raised. The discovery of new propositions or new solutions also may be followed by passionate advocacy. Such advocacy must never replace the continued pursuit of the university's essential purpose of learning and teaching.

It is within this context that the university rejects the use of, or the threat of, force as a means of resolving differences. Violence is both unnecessary and inappropriate for those who have access to reasoned discourse and is unacceptable within an institution dedicated to reason. The university officer responsible for implementing the policy statement on freedom of expression and dissent, when students are involved, is the chief student affairs officer. If faculty or staff are engaged in disruption, the chief student affairs officer or that officer's duly authorized representative shall consult with the provost or appropriate vice presidents before taking action. In all cases, the designated officer shall attempt to resolve the situation through persuasion. The university must, after efforts at persuasion have failed, resort to the use of legal remedy deemed necessary. Those engaged in unlawful disruption, consequently, may expect appropriate responses from either university or other law enforcement authorities or both. (University security officers possess full law enforcement authority.)

*Guidelines.* Since a clear differentiation between legitimate dissent and unlawful disruption is difficult, it is the propose here to provide explanatory guidelines.

The Board of Trustees, administration, faculty, staff, alumni, and students recognize the crucial importance of maintaining open communication and dialogue in the process of identifying and resolving problems which evolve from the dynamics of university life.

Unlawful disruption initiated by any person or persons within the university community will be met by that action of the university which is necessary to restore order and the communication required for rational solution of problems. Such action may range from warning to dismissal, and/or arrest. Unlawful disruption is generally defined here as activity which imposes the will of other persons or groups within the university community, outside of established procedures for the expression of opinion and the resolution of differences.

Unlawful disruption is construed to include activity which, contrary to law, denies the rights of students, the faculty, the staff or guests of the university; disrupts or obstructs activities of the university; denies the rights of those engaged in peaceful discourse or dissent; denies free movement of persons on any part of the university campus or any property owned or leased by the university; denies the proper use of offices or other facilities to the students, faculty, officers, staff, trustees, or guests of the university; endangers the safety of any person on university property; or threatens, or results in, the destruction of property.

Lawful and peaceful demonstration as an expression of favor or dissent should be permitted and protected.

Members of the academic community must be free to organize, discuss, pass resolutions, distribute leaflets, circulate petitions, picket and take other action which is not only lawful, but consistent with university policy and procedures; however, they also have an obligation to preserve the university's free and unhampered search for truth.

The activities of an individual or group of individuals cannot be allowed, in the name of free speech, to disrupt the educational program.

Failure of person(s) on university property to follow a reasonable request to leave university facilities or campus in general may result in one's arrests and/or removal for trespassing.

When groups organize a demonstration on campus which becomes unlawfully disruptive, action may be taken against the group as well as individuals involved.

Any member of the university community witnessing an unlawful disruptive occurrence should notify campus security.

*Adjudication.* Violation of this policy statement on freedom of expression and dissent by faculty, staff, or students may subject those involved to disciplinary action by the university.

Faculty/staff involved in unlawful disruptive behavior may have their alleged offenses referred to either the senior vice president, in the case of staff, or to the provost, in the case of faculty, for appropriate action.

Those students involved in unlawful disruptive behavior will have their alleged offenses adjudicated in the same manner as detailed in the section on Rights and Responsibilities of *The Cat's Tale*. Sanctions for students' violations of said policy may range from warning to dismissal.

Those individuals not affiliated with the university will be prosecuted in accordance with local, state, or federal criminal statutes.

Approved by the Board of Trustees
August 14, 1987

**University of Massachusetts at Amherst**

(The following text is edited excerpts from the "Undergraduate Rights and Responsibilities" pamphlet, September 1986, issued by the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Student Affairs and the Office of the Provost. It was approved by the Board of Trustees on August 6, 1986, and supersedes all previously published regulations and policies on the subject.)

The Code of Student Conduct is violated when a student refuses to identify him/herself to any properly identified (by name and position) member of the university staff (e.g., dining commons personnel, members of the Department of Public Safety, housing services employees), when appropriately requested to do. The preferred form of identification shall be a current, valid university card.

Harassment includes, but is not limited to: Physical attack upon or interference with a person which prevents the person from conducting his or her customary or usual affairs, puts the person in fear for his or her safety, or causes the person to suffer actual physical injury. Conduct less than a physical attack or interference which is intended to, or by inference can be construed as intended to, interfere with a person in the conduct of his or her customary or usual affairs, such as the sending of threatening letters, the posting of threatening letters explicitly or by inference directed to the person, the use of threatening language directed at another, or the vandalism of misappropriation of a person's property or vandalism of a person's room (e.g., by graffiti).

A willful interruption or disturbance ("prohibited activity") of the day-to-day conduct of the business of the university, person or persons. Demonstrations and actions which violate the University of Massachusetts at Amherst Picketing Code shall be considered a "prohibited activity."

Failure to comply with the directions of university officials, including campus police officers, acting in performance of their duties.

Intentional failure to evacuate any university building after a fire alarm has sounded or other notice has been given.

Other code citations, regulations, statutes may apply in particular situations and circumstances. It is not represented or intended that the sections noted above are the only ones applicable.

*University of Massachusetts at Amherst's Picketing Code*

All students, undergraduate and graduate, have a right to demonstrate on university premises provided, however, that no such demonstration shall be permissible which for any reason of time, place, or type of behavior materially disrupts class work or other university business, or involves substantial disorder or invasion of the rights of others.

Any demonstration within a campus building may take place only during normal operating hours of the building.

Students are prohibited from blocking free entry to or free exit from buildings, interfering with free movement, or presenting obstacles to regular university activities. "Interfering with free movement" is defined as any physical denial or restriction of a person's ability to freely reach or leave a given geographical area, or harassment as defined in the Code of Student Conduct. "Obstacles" are defined as physical devices, bodies, or signs which cause interference with free movement or sounds which prevent normal aural communication.

A demonstration in a building or area is limited to such a number of persons which the area can reasonably accommodate on grounds of public safety, as determined by a university official.

No student shall intentionally and substantially interfere with the freedom of expression of another person on university premises or at university-sponsored activities.

Failure to cease any activity in violation of this code immediately following either written or oral notice by a university official shall also be a violation of this code.

Any violation of this code may subject a student to expulsion from the university or such lesser sanction(s) as may be deemed appropriate by the university.

## Regulations and Procedures Governing Demonstrations Southern Illinois University at Carbondale

Section I—Responsible Authorities

The president of Southern Illinois University at Carbondale shall promulgate on an annual basis regulations and procedures governing demonstration. The president shall also designate on an annual basis the individual, hereinafter referred to as the president's designee, who is to fulfill the procedures indicated in Section III of this statement. The president and the president's designee reserve the right to select an alternate to carry out the provisions of these regulations and procedures or act on their behalf if circumstances warrant.

Any person who believes an individual or group is violating the provisions of these regulations and procedures should communicate those concerns to the campus security office or to the president's designee. If the initial complaint is made to the campus security office, that office will contact the president's designee; if the initial complaint is made to the president's designee, he or she will inform the campus security office of the situation. The president's designee will make the decision to involve the aid of the campus security office if the disturbance is in violation of the standards of conduct described in Section II.

None of the above is intended to circumscribe the duties, rights, and obligations of the campus security office to carry out normal assignments with respect to individuals who are in violation of the law. However, it is intended that the decision of whether a demonstration is in violation of the rules governing demonstrations is a decision to be made by the president's designee.

Section II—Standards of Conduct

Demonstrations which coerce individuals or which constitute a hazard to the safety of any persons or which threaten destruction of property are not protected by freedom of speech provisions and will not be tolerated. Similarly, a hostile audience will not be allowed to interfere with a peaceful demonstration. To preserve freedom of discussion and to protect the rights

of all, the following conduct is specifically prohibited and the prohibition shall apply to all students, faculty, organizations, and staff of the university as well as all visitors and other licensees and invitees on university owned or controlled property. A spectator who is present at an unlawful demonstration and whose presence at that demonstration contributes to the prohibited conduct is liable to the same penalties as an active participant.

Specifically Prohibited Conduct:

Obstruction, disruption, or interference with classes, research, administrative functions, or other university activities.

Obstruction, disruption, or interference with vehicle traffic, teaching, research, administrative functions, or other university activities by not maintaining reasonable access to and exit from any office, classroom, laboratory or building.

Physical abuse to, detention of, intimidation of, or threat of violence to any person within the university community or at a university-sponsored event.

Unauthorized possession and/or use of firearms, fireworks, or chemicals which are explosive in nature and other types of weapons classified under Chapter 38, Section 33A-1 of the Illinois Revised Statutes.

Entry to or use of university facilities or property without authorization.

The entering of false fire alarms, tampering with fire extinguishers, alarms, safety equipment, or utilities such as telephone, electric, water, or gas equipment.

Failure to comply with directions of university officials or law enforcement officers acting in performance of their duties.

Soliciting, commanding, or aiding any person in any act or conduct listed above. This includes failure to carry out in good faith duties as a designated marshal as described in Section 5.2 herein.

Section III—Procedure

The response of the university to prohibited conduct as defined in Section II must ultimately depend on the judgment of the officials in charge. Judgments as to whether an individual or

organization is engaged in prohibited conduct will be made at the time of the incident by the president's designee.

If, in the judgment of the president's designee, the regulations herein contained have been violated, he will, when possible, notify the individuals involved that they are in violation of university regulations and ask that they conform their conduct to regulations or cease the activity.

The president's designee may inform such individuals that the violation and/or the demonstration must cease or, when appropriate, that the demonstration must be moved to another location. The president's designee may also inform the individuals that if the directions given are not followed, the campus security office will be called on to aid in the situation.

When possible, the following statement will be used: "I am (name), (position), representing the president of this university. You are (specific complaint), which conduct prohibited by university regulations governing demonstrations and/or state laws. You are hereby advised to cease such behavior and (any additional instructions). You have (x) minutes to comply with these instructions. Those who fail to comply with these instructions will be subject to arrest and penalties provided by law and university regulations." (In the event there is noncompliance, a further direction to disperse shall, if practical, also be given.)

In case the president's designee has reasonable cause to believe that a serious and direct threat to the safety and well-being of the members and/or property of the university community will be present if a member of the university community is permitted to remain an active member of the community, an interim separation may be imposed, but only after a preliminary hearing is afforded. The hearing will be conducted in accordance with the normal procedures for such hearings established within the Student Conduct Code. If it is impossible or unreasonably difficult to accord a preliminary hearing prior to the interim or temporary separation, the individual shall be provided such a preliminary hearing at the earliest practical time. The purpose of the preliminary hearing will be to determine if there is justification for withholding the interim separation. During the preliminary hearing the individual will be provided a statement of the reasons for interim separation and will be afforded an opportu-

nity to rebut. Interim separation is temporary and shall be enforced only until the completion of a full disciplinary hearing. A full disciplinary hearing shall be provided within a reasonable period of time, in accordance with established disciplinary procedures.

In case the president's designee has reasonable cause to believe that a nonmember of the university community represents a physical danger to the community by engaging in conduct prohibited by Section II, he may give notice to depart from the campus or any portion thereof pursuant to Illinois Revised Statutes dealing with trespass or interference with a public institution of higher education; seek to have the individual judicially barred from engaging in such activity; or refer to civil authorities for appropriate action.

In case the president's designee obtains evidence regarding the activities of individual members or organizations of the university community which constitute violations of these or other duly promulgated university regulations or employment contracts, those involved in such conduct will be subject to disciplinary action in accordance with due process.

Section IV—Free Speech Facilities

In order to facilitate the peaceful and orderly presentation of a variety of views, the university will provide facilities for the gathering of groups who wish to have a discussion, assembly, rally, or peaceful demonstration without prior scheduling.

The free forum area is located south of Anthony Hall, north of McAndrew Stadium, between parking lot 10B on the east and the parking garage lot 118 on the west. This area will be open to all members of the university. However, this area may be closed if the discussion, assembly, rally, or demonstration results in conduct prohibited by Section II of these regulations and procedures governing demonstrations. (To ensure use of the free forum area, it is recommended that the area be scheduled through the scheduling office in the Student Center.)

Other campus areas may be used without amplification equipment as long as the gathering does not interfere with the regular functions and activities of the university

Section V—Scheduled Rallies and Demonstrations

(Approval of time, location, and facilities required)

The stadium or other facilities may be scheduled by contacting the president's designee 24 hours in advance to avoid conflicts in scheduling and to arrange for facility requirements such as public address systems.

To preserve the order necessary to the freedom of members of the university and in order to ensure the nonviolent intent of their activity, leaders, and organizers of intended demonstrations outside the free forum area and using amplification equipment will be required to furnish from their ranks designated marshals who will be easily identified by an official armband and will act to maintain and assist in the implementation of the policies contained herein.

**Rules of Department of Education**
**Division of Universities**
**University of Florida**

Faculty, students, and all other personnel who intentionally act to impair, interfere with or obstruct the orderly conduct, processes, and functions of the university shall be subject to appropriate disciplinary action by university authorities.

Demonstrations may be held anywhere on the campus, so long as they do not disrupt the normal operation of the university or infringe on the rights of others in the university community, except that no demonstrations are permitted inside university buildings. Although no specific areas on the campus are designated for the purpose of demonstrations or impromptu speeches, exclusive use of the Plaza of the Americas for this purpose may be obtained by prior clearance through the public functions office. Any use of sound amplification equipment on the campus must also have prior clearance through this office.

In order that demonstrators not interfere with the operation of the university or the rights of others, they shall not obstruct vehicular, bicycle, pedestrian, or other traffic; obstruct entrances or exits to buildings or driveways; interfere with educational activities inside or outside any building; harass passerby or otherwise disrupt normal activities; interfere with or preclude a scheduled speaker from being heard; interfere with scheduled university ceremonies or events; or damage property, including lawns, shrubs, or trees.

In the event of disruptive action, university employees and students involved in demonstrations shall identify themselves by presenting appropriate documents such as identification cards when requested to do so by the president or his/her designated representative, and such representative will identify him/herself when making this request. Demonstrators not officially related to the University of Florida will be directed to leave the campus immediately or be subject to arrest for a violation of the law.

If, in the opinion of the president or his/her designated representative, a demonstration is disrupting normal university op-

erations or infringing on the rights of other members of the university community, the president or his/her representative may identify him/herself to the demonstrators, giving name and official position; inform the demonstrators that they are in violation of the university policy and/or in violation of the law and specify the nature of the violation; request that the violation cease; and in the event of noncompliance with this request, enlist the assistance of the university police in restoring order and enforcing the law.

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